

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

LONDON

Office of the High Commissioner for India, 4 Grosvenor Gardens S.W. 1
Constable & Co., Ltd., 10 Oliver Street, Finsbury Square, W.C. 2
P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 and 4 Great South Street, Westminster, S.W. 1
Klein Paul French, Tribner & Co., Ltd., 68 Carter Lane, F.C. 4, and (Oriental Department) 39 New Oxford Street, W.C. 1
B. Quinich, Ltd., 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W. 1
Gouldry & Co., 74 Parliament Street, S.W. 1
J. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1 Adelphi Terrace, W.C. 2
W. Thacker & Co., 2 Good Lane, Tudor City Hill, F.C. 2
Luzak & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1
Wheldon & Wesley, Ltd., 2 & 4 Arthur Street, New Oxford Street, W.C. 2
East & West, Ltd., 3 Victoria

LONDON

Carter & Boyd, Tweeddale Court
ONFOLD
B. H. Blackwell, 50 and 51 Broad Street

AMSTERDAM

Deighton, Bell & Co., Trinity Street

ON THE CONTINENT

Lance Ernest Fox, Rue Bonaparte, Paris
Holland Martinus Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague
Germann, Otto Harnesowicz, Leipzig
Hoffmiller, Sohn, 11 Carlstrasse, Berlin N.W. 6

IN INDIA AND CEYLON

Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla
Newman & Co., Calcutta
P. Cambay & Co., Calcutta
S. K. Thakur & Co., Calcutta
D. Banerjee & Co., Calcutta

The Indian School Supply Depot, 309 Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, and 206 Niswabpur, Dacca
Butterworth & Co. (India) Ltd., Calcutta
Raj M. C. Saran Bahadur & Sons, 90-2 A Harrison Road, Calcutta
The Weldon Library, 57 Park Street, West, Calcutta
Standard Literature Co., Ltd., Calcutta
Tilchand & Sons, Calcutta
The Association Press, Calcutta
Hugginbotham & Co., Madras
V. Kalyanaram Iyer & Co., Madras
G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras
S. Murthy & Co., Madras
Thompson & Co., Madras
Temple & Co., Madras
P. K. Ramaswamy & Co., Madras
Visa & Co., Madras
F. M. Gopalkrishna Kone, Madras
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay
D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay
Mrs. Radhabai Amaram Sagoo, Bombay
Sunder Pandurang, Bombay
Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay
Ram Chandra Govind & Son, Kalbadga, Bombay
Proprietor, New Katakhatna, Poona
The Standard Bookstall, Kulu
Mangaldas Harkisandas, Surat
Karsandas, Narandas & Sons, Surat
A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay
N. B. Mathur, Supt. Noida Kinnor Hind Press, Allahabad
Munda, Seta, Ram, Managing Proprietor, Indian Army Book Depot, Jubbulpore
Raj Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Son, Multan, Amritsar, Lahore and Allahabad
Rama Krishna & Son, Lahore
Supt. American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon
Proprietor, Rangoon Times Press, Rangoon
Manager the Hindustani, Nappur
S. C. Lalukhar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cochin, Bikaner
A. M. & J. Ferguson, Ceylon
Manager of the Imperial Book Depot, 61 Chandney Chawk Street, Delhi

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM
VOL. I
INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA
NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

LEHRKAPITEL ZUR EPIGRAPHIK DER INDIEN

WITH 55 PLATES

PRINTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD
AND PUBLISHED THROUGH THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT
PRINTERS, CALCUTTA

1925

COLLOTYPE PLATES AND LETTERPRESS
PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

BOOKSTALL
9, Shama Ch. De St.
Calcutta.

PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archaeological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASIRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr Carl PFUEHLER. With the exception of the two Shāhāzgarhi edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharoshthi versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr J. F. FIFER. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnār and Kalsi versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH

HALLE,
October, 1922.

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. P. L. FINER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALL,
January, 1924.

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

PAGE

vi

ABBREVIATIONS

vii

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

First part The rock-edicts	1
I The Girnār rock	1
II The Kāśī rock	1
III. The Shahbazgarhi rock	21
IV. The Mānsihra rock	2
V The Dhauti rock	13
VI. The Jaugada rock	3
VII The Bombay-Sopara fragment	3
Second part The pillar-edicts	3
I The Delhi-Tōprā pillar	3
II. The Delhi-Mirath pillar	311
III and IV The Lauriyā Arāj and Lauriyā-Nandagarhi pillars	333
V The Rāmpurvā pillar	3311
VI The Allahabad-Kosam pillar	333
Third part Minor pillar-inscriptions	331
I The Sanchi pillar	331
II. The Sarnath pillar	331
III The Rummudai pillar	333
IV The Nigālī Sagar pillar	3311
Fourth part Minor rock-inscriptions	3311
I The Rūpnāth rock-inscription	3311
II. The Sahasrām rock-inscription	3311
III The Bairāt rock-inscription	3311
IV. The Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription	333
V. The Maski rock-inscription	333
VI, VII, VIII Rock-inscriptions in the Mysore State	3331
IX The Barabar Hill cave-inscriptions	33311
CHAPTER II THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS	33311
CHAPTER III. ASOKA'S EMPIRE	33331
CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION	33311

	PAGE
CHAPTER V ASOKA'S DHARMA .	xlvii
CHAPTER VI GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS	lvi
CHAPTER VII. GRAMMAR OF THE KALSİ ROCK-EDICTS .	lxx
CHAPTER VIII GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS .	lxxxiv
Notes on the Mānschrā version	xcvii
CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS .	xcix
Note on the Bombay-Sōpārā fragment	cxii
CHAPTER X. GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS	cxv
CHAPTER XI. GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS	cxliii
I The rock-inscriptions at Rupnath, &c	cxliii
II The three rock-inscriptions in the Mysore State	cxlviii

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

First part The rock-edicts	i
I The Gīrnār rock	i
II The Kālsī rock	27
III. The Shāhbazgarhi rock	50
IV. The Mānschrā rock	71
V. The Dhāuli rock	84
First separate rock-edict Dhāuli	92
Second separate rock-edict Dhāuli	97
VI The Jaugada rock	101
First separate rock-edict Jaugada	111
Second separate rock-edict Jaugada	115
VII The Bombay-Sōpārā fragment of the eighth rock-edict	118
Second part The pillar-edicts	119
I. The Delhi-Iōprā pillar	119
II. The Delhi-Mīrath pillar	137
III The Lauriyā-Arārāj pillar	141
IV The Lauriyā-Nandagarh pillar	145
V The Rāmpurvā pillar	151
VI The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar	155
A. The six first pillar-edicts	155
B. Queen's pillar-edict	158
C. Kauśāmbī pillar-edict	159

CONTENTS

v

	PAGE
Third part: Minor pillar-inscriptions	160
I. The Sāhchi pillar	160
II. The Sārnāth pillar	161
III. The Rummindei pillar	164
IV. The Nigāli Sāgar pillar	165
Fourth part: Minor rock-inscriptions	166
I. The Rūpnāth rock-inscription	166
II. The Sahasrām rock-inscription	169
III. The Bairāt rock-inscription	171
IV. The Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription	172
V. The Maski rock-inscription	174
VI. The Brahmagiri rock-inscription	175
VII. The Śiddāpura rock-inscription	178
VIII. The Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscription	179
IX. The Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions	181
Appendix: Synoptical texts	183
I. The fourteen rock-edicts	183
II. The two separate rock-edicts	213
III. The six pillar-edicts	218
IV. The Rūpnāth rock-inscription and cognate inscriptions	228
Index	231
CORRIGENDA	259

LIST OF PLATES

	FACING PAGE
First and second rock-edicts Gīrnār	4
Third to fifth rock-edicts Gīrnār	10
Sixth to eighth rock-edicts Gīrnār	11
Ninth to twelfth rock-edicts Gīrnār	22
Thirteenth and fourteenth rock-edicts Gīrnār	26
Kalsi rock East face	44
Kalsi rock South face	50
Kalsi rock North face	50
First to eleventh rock-edicts Shāhbāzgarhī Left half)	<i>between pages 56 and 57</i>
Right half)	
Seventh and twelfth rock-edicts Shāhbāzgarhī	64
Thirteenth and fourteenth rock-edicts Shāhbāzgarhī Left half)	<i>between pages</i>
Right half)	68 and 69
First to eighth rock-edicts Mānsehrā	78
Ninth to eleventh rock-edicts Mānsehrā	80
Twelfth rock-edict Mānsehrā	81
Thirteenth and fourteenth rock-edicts Mānsehrā	81
Dhauli rock middle column	88
Dhauli rock left column	94
Dhauli rock right column	100
Jaugada rock first column	104
Jaugada rock second column	110
Jaugada rock third column	116
Bombay-Sopārā fragment of the eighth rock-edict	118
Delhi-Tōprā pillar North face	122
Delhi-Tōprā pillar West face	123
Delhi-Tōprā pillar South face	128
Delhi-Tōprā pillar East face	129
Delhi-Tōprā pillar circular inscription	131
Delhi-Mirath pillar North face	138
Delhi-Mirath pillar West face	139
Delhi-Mirath pillar South face	140
Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar East face	142
Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar West face	144
Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar East face	148
Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar West face	150
Rāmpurvā pillar North face	152
Rāmpurvā pillar South face	153
Allahabad-Kōsam pillar upper half	156
Allahabad-Kōsam pillar lower half	158

LIST OF PLATES

vii

	FACING PAGE
Allahabad-Kōsam pillar: minor edicts	159
Samcī pillar-inscription	160
Sarnāth pillar-inscription	162
Rummindei pillar-inscription	164
Nigāli Sāgar pillar-inscription	164
Rūpnāth rock-inscription	166
Sahasrām rock-inscription	170
Bairāt rock-inscription	172
Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription	173
Maski rock-inscription	174
Brahmagiri rock-inscription: upper half	176
Brahmagiri rock-inscription: lower half	177
Śiddāpura rock-inscription: upper half	178
Śiddāpura rock-inscription: lower half	179
Jaṭiṅga-Rāmcvara rock-inscription: upper half	180
Jaṭiṅga-Rāmcvara rock-inscription: lower half	181
Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions	182

ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indi-sche Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
SBE = Sacred Books of the East
Skt = Sanskrit
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1)

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kathiāwār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred **Girnār**' mountain.¹ The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base'.² The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents. An inscription of the *Mahākṣatrapa* **Rudradāman** records the restoration of the lake **Sudarśana**, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaṣṭya* **Pushyagupta**, the provincial governor (*śāstṛiya*) of the **Maurya** king **Chandragupta**, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the **Yavana** king **Tushāspa** for **Aśoka** the **Maurya**'.³ Among local names it mentions **Girinagara**, i.e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and **Ūrjayat**, i.e. the mountain now called Girnār.⁴ The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the **Gupta** king **Skandagupta** and records further repairs of the lake **Sudarśana** made in A.D. 456-7 by **Chakrapāṇita**, the son of **Parnadatta** who was governor of **Surāshṭra**.⁵

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in *JRAS*, 12, 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII, and

¹ ASWI, 2, 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in *JASB*, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2, 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

³ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8, 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hāmachandra's *Anikārthasamgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānakintāmani*, IV, 97. ASWI, 2, 154 ff. and 8, 328 ff., Tawney's translation of Mātṛung's *Prabandhachintāmani*, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is *Raivata* or *Raivataka*. See e.g. Hāmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit., *Māgha's Śūpālavadha*, IV, 1, GN, 1921, 41.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Gīrnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Gīrnār.² At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Gīrnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Gīrnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Gīrnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelyke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist*, Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Gīrnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Gīrnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff, Senart added the results of his inspection of the Gīrnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols 37-48), and the full text of the Gīrnār version in EI, 2 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. A *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Gīrnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Gīrnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Gīrnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial ā, at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Gīrnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2 95.

² JASB, 7 (1838) 219 ff.

³ Id., p. 871 ff.

⁴ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838;

see JASB, 7. 874.

⁵ Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁶ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁷ JBBRAS, 1 257 f., and 2. 410

II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27)

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātī tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of 5½ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10½ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages, but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Buhler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43, 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol 39. In EI, 2 447 ff., Buhler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī **alphabet** exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom, see Buhler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *ṣh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,¹ and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maskī, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maskī rock-inscriptions.

III. THE SHAHHAZGARHĪ ROCK (Text, p. 50)

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brahmi, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Buhler restored the indigenous name **Kharoṣṭhī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham. A number

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

² Also once in each of the Bairat, Maskī, and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jātū Rāmeśvara.

³ JASB, 23 714, *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōṣṭhī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.¹ It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōṣṭhī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyaśa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846), 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Gīrnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12-153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10, 107) and of edict VIII (JBRAS, 15, 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11, 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1, 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43, 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2, 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1, 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71)

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the **Kharōṣṭhī** alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

³ JRAS, 8, 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888) 511 ff) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff). Buhler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p 84)

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Puri district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aśwastama'.³ It is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.⁴

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aśwastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit, the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship, the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,⁵ and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict' the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugadā rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), 11. 508.

² ZDMG, 44. 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajastama* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālāst rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838) 415-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them¹ was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, I. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugada**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'²

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhi, Gīrnar, and Dhauli.'⁴

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauli by Professor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.⁵ Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41 1 ff.). His

¹ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, I (1872), 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *ś*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *ōm*.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauli.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātēla pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough'. It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīmasēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Firōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Sīwalik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Firōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills',³ that Sultan Firōz had it carried to Delhi, and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Firōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Firōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I, 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōllā*) of Firōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**.⁴ An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

¹ JBBRAS, 15, 282.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

³ Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3, 350.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kitchin, JASB, 6, 796 f, and the map facing p. 185 of *Hardecrr India*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chahamāna Visalādēva of Śākambārī, son of Annallādēva (EI, 9, 67, n 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19, 215 ff).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6, 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*² seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity' (id., p. 567).³

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brahmi alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple, and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, *दा*. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings, and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter *ञ*, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word—now this I had learnt from the Saurashtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *śa* of the Pāli, or *śya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence, and the vowel *a* and Anusvara led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 167, and 5, 143 f.

² See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6-10.

³ Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, 1, 379.

⁴ 'Inscriptions from Sanchi, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f)

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi Topra pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2, 1 ff) were based on Cunningham's copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Buhler added transcripts in the Nāgari character (IA, 13, 306 ff), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Buhler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2, 245 ff).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137)

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirāth, now a town and the head quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikar or 'Hunting Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribbings,⁴ a more or less damaged version of the first *five* edicts of the Delhi-Tōpra pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Païre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off' and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'⁶

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirath pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Buhler (p. 122 ff), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the *sixth* edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirath pillar.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *India*.

² Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3, 353.

³ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I, 168.

⁴ Id., 5, 144.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I, 167.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are 2½ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriya-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauriyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kesariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Bctiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lūgas* (Hindi *laurā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for '**Nandangarh**'.

The Lauriya-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, 36½ feet in height above the ground'.³ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.⁴

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet 9½ inches in height'.

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a **lion** facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'⁵

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzib** and a few modern scribbings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pandava Bhūma.⁶

Buhler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr Carlyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, 32½ miles north of Bctiyā.⁷ The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rampurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834) 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

³ *Id.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65, 227.

⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 72 f. For pictures of the pillar, see *id.*, plates 22 and 25, vol. 16, plate 27, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

⁶ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.' The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.¹

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZIMG, vols. 45 and 46, LI, 2, 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing **lion-capital**. The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriya pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.²

VI THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at **Allahabad**. It is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.³ 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'⁴

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz :
 - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar,
 - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2),
 - (c) the so-called 'Kausāmbī edict' (above b)
- (2) An inscription of the *Alahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1)
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngir

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.⁵ 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasena' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvara

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

³ JRAS, 1908-1086, and plate I, fig.

⁴ See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3, 125.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kitchin's note in JASB, 4, 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y, v, s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōpra pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;² but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngir in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'³

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I, 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngir [4]'.⁴ IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff).

The Queen's edict (1, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the Kauśāmbī edict (1, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart⁷ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19, 122 ff). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A. M. Boyer.⁸

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātrav* at Kōsamī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,⁹ which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.¹⁰ He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōpra and Mirath pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.¹¹ This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal¹² and of his son Jahāngir are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1, it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhritah stambhak*, l. 30).

¹ JASB, 6 (1837) 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

⁴ Cf. JASB, 4, 127.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

³ Fleet in IA, 13, 305.

⁵ JASB, 6, 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

⁷ *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, 2, 99 ff., and IA, 18, 308 f.

⁸ JA (10), 10, 120 ff. and 141.

⁹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2, also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11, 91 and 141.

¹¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

¹² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgari in erlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribbings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'¹

Jahāngir's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.²

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmohī 'is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, 5½ miles from Bhilsā and about ¾ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft, but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it'.³ It is now lying in the jungle, but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchi Stūpa.⁴

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10 123 ff and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRS, 1911 167 ff, and 1912. 1055 f).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārṇāth, about 3½ miles to the north of **Benares**, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the **Migadāya** (i.e. 'deer-park') at **Isipatana** in which he preached his first sermon.⁵ Here Mr F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka. He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy'.⁶

The Chinese traveller, **Hsuen Tsiang**, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a *Stūpa* built by **Aśoka-rāja**, and which was about 70 feet high.

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 38 f.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

³ Mr D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sañchi, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁴ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2 366, n. 2, and JRS, 1902 30.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107, SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 50, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1 III f.

⁷ *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

⁸ V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hsuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *akṣaras* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date—an inscription of king *Aśvaghōṣa* which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the *Aśoka* edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early *Gupta* characters above the *Aśvaghōṣa* epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the *Aśoka* edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDĪ PILLAR (Text, p. 164)

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of *Aśoka* about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No IV) in the Nepalese Tarai. The pillar stands near the shrine of *Rummindī*, about a mile to the north of the village of *Paṇariyā*, which is about two miles north of Bhagvanpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Basti.¹

The new *Aśoka* pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.' The inscription on it was edited, with fac-simile, by Bühler in 1898,² and records that *Aśoka* visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the *Buddha Śākya-muni* was born here', and that the king exempted the village of *Lummini* from taxes.

Both *Lummini* and the modern name *Rummindī* must be identical with the *Lumbini* grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.³ This identification is confirmed by Hsuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by *Aśoka-rāja* in the *Lumbini* garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',⁴ which is now called *Tilar-nadi*, i.e. apparently 'the tēli's or oilman's river'.⁵ He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the *Rummindī* pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists . . . The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

¹ See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

² Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

³ EI, 5. 1 f. For subsequent articles on the *Rummindī* inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbini* see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SĀGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprava in the British district of Basti) ¹.

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhūmasena. ² It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribbles. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines, some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away ³.

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9, 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5, 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Huen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar ⁴. He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanākamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśokarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Huen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found ⁵.

FOURTH PART MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, four or five miles west of Siermanabad railway station ⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**. ⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rama, the next after Lakshmana, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

² Id., p. 30, and Fuhrer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Fuhrer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁴ Beal's HRWW, 2, 19.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's *Aśoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur, see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*

after Sitā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *linga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.¹

The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.²

The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.³

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7, 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6, 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.⁴ Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2, 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20, 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr Bloch.⁵

II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihar. About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pir**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.⁶

The edict of Aśoka is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.⁷

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22, 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc cit). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr Carlisle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

² Mr Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7, 141 ff, and, with Fleet's facsimile, *id.*, 22, 299 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11, 132 f.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsil in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhim-ki-dungri* It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'¹

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'²

The inscription was edited by Buhler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172)

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de l'Inde*, 2 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake. the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block. According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijal-Pahār* or "inscription hill"'. It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanumān below the rock known as *lōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill'³

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174)

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6 98.

³ See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur taluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maṣgi or Maṣgi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Maṣgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhānu piriya-Mosamgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosangi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī of Mosamgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghana of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhānu piriya-Mosamgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nādu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosangi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muṣangi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff. Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff., and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvaṇa priya*, but in addition to it **Asōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. I. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Buhler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.) In 1894 Buhler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.).⁴

'The Asōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

¹ See *South-Ind Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f., EI, 9. 230, Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1, *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

³ *Edicts of Asōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,¹ between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the *Brahmagiri* inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunte-māle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-gundu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana gundlu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks." It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the *Jatinga-Rāmēśvara* hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jatinga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Balegāsa gundu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note² we are glad to learn that 'erectments have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Siddāpura

² *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

IX THE BARĀBAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181)

'The Hills called **Barābar** are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of **Gayā** in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgarjuni, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgarjuni group.' Each of the three Nāgarjuni caves contains an inscription of **Dasharatha Devanampiya**, i.e. Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.¹ Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king *Devānampiya*, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishnava inscription of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was **Pravaragiri**.²

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānampiya* and the three Nāgarjuni inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the **Ājivika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ājivikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Krishna, and two of the Nāgarjuni ones to Śiva and Parvatī.³

The three Barābar inscriptions of king *Devānampiya* were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.⁴ They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff) and edited by Senart⁵ and, with Flét's facsimiles, by Buhler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prakṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāmpriyah Priyadarśi rājā*.⁶ This full

¹ Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847) 402.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

³ Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Feugusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1 130 ff., *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff., V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

⁴ For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Luders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

⁵ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

⁶ See id., Nos. 48-50.

⁷ *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

⁸ *Inscriptions de Priyadarśi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

⁹ In a few caves (Kālsī rock-edict I, A, Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict II, A, Delhi-Tūprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhi, I, A) the word *Priyadarśi*. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Devanāmpriyā* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi Topra pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Devanāmpriyā* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Devanāmpriyā Priyadarśa rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Devanāmpriyā Aśoka*. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Baurat, and the three Mysore rock inscriptions we have only *Devanāmpriyā*. On the Samchi pillar this word is lost, but the contents of the Sāmchi and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśi rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśi*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sambōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇakamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājivikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Devanāmpriyā* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavan*, *dirghayuh*, and *āyushmān*.² Pāṇini himself does not mention *Devanāmpriyā*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (वन्ना जातोहि, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples *चोरसकुलं*, 'the family of a thief', and *वृषणसकुलं*, 'the family of a low-caste man'. Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Devanāmpriyā* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word *वृषण*, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhantakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Devanāmpriyā* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,³ while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Devanāmpriyā* in an ironical sense. In Bāna's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Buhler, IA, 7, 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. *वृषणाःपुत्रः* in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* Chāṇakya uses the term *वृषण* with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. *Bāṣamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.¹ In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.²

In the *Dīpavamsa*, *Devānāmpīya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,³ and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson *Daśaratha*.⁴ In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānschrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpīya* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāno*, and the word *Devānāmpīye* in the second separate edict at Dhāuli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugadā text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavamsa*⁵ as equivalents of *Aśoka*, the name of the great Maurya king.⁶ In the drama *Mudrā ākhya*,⁷ *Pradassana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. *Chandragupta*, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānāmpīya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Māgadha* king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*, for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānschrā, and Dhāuli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānschrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka', and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānschrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alīkasudara* (*Alīkashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpīya Tissa* of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashedatha *Devānāmpīya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with *Daśaratha*, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadasin* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavamsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānāmpīya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *Aśvime*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

¹ See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

² See Püschel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Püschel derived the word from Skt. *dīva + anupriya*. Hemachandra (*Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānāmpīya* the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485.

⁴ IA, 20, 364 f.

⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5, cf. his article on the *Kautilīyasastra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Devānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākṣha* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Devānāmpriya Aśoka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock edict. He found in the Gīrnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yōna-lājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yōna-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Gīrnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,² and *Maga*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonos** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Gīrnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Maga*, is lost. The Shāhbāgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.³ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁴ Lassen,⁵ and Senart.⁶ But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.⁷

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.⁸ The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.⁹ If we assume that the rock edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhisheka*, when Aśoka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśoka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7, 156 ff.

² In reality Gīrnār and Kālai read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāgarhī *Antikini*. Buhler (ZDMG 40, 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigonos than to Antiochus. But no king named Antigene is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846) 305

⁴ *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862) p. 120 f.

⁵ *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.) 253 ff.

⁶ IA, 20 242

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 105

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśoka. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus:

'Kautilya (or Chānakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśoka thirty-six years.'

According to the *Dīpavamsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101).¹

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmana Chānakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.²

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.³

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,⁴ and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.⁵ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁶

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A. B. 186-214, and the latter A. B. 162-186.⁷ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B. C., the result is 382 B. C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁸ who identified him with Σαρδάροττος of Παλιβοθη, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Flect showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B. C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

¹ See Fargiter's *Dynasties of the Kāśi Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

² The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavamsa*, but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Mutasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908 481, and 1909. 25.

³ *Vinaya-pitaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3 321.

⁴ Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

⁵ *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 20 f.

⁶ *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 1, 21 f., *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f., *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

⁷ Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A. B. 163-187, and Bindusāra 187-214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A. B. 189.

⁹ In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.¹

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāna in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāna and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāna and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4.⁵

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit, inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transiit deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugum servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat, siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humilis quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingēntis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei deterens expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractus latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molenti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domiti mansuetudine eum tergo exceperit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus compositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCrinkle translates this as follows:—

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

¹ JRAS, 1909, 333, 335.

² *Vinaya-pitaka, Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII), *Dīpavamsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f., *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 8, *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenbeig in SBE, 13, xxii. 'This is no doubt a round number, and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, n, p. 94 ff.

⁵ Ruel's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

⁶ *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.

life,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos.³

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ρωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55.⁴

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν πέρασας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδρόκοττον βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κήδος συνέθετο.

‘[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.’⁵

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁶ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁷ Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades.⁸

Ἐπίμψθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδράκοττον, ὃ δὲ Διήμαχος πρὸς Ἀμιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον ταῦτα.

‘Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country.’⁹

¹ According to the *Mudrārākṣha*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste, see above, p. xxiv, n. 3.

² This ‘Nandrus’ must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857), 262. Instead of the accusative ‘Nandrum’ the older editions read ‘Alexandrum’, cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been ‘Nandum’.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1, 426.

⁴ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6, 114.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 217 f., V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44, 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848), 398, McCrindle, IA, 6, 115.

⁷ *Geographica*, ed. Muller et Dubner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

⁹ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6, 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**, i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of Antiochus (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus¹

Ὅτω δὲ ᾗσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες . . . ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράφει Ἀντίοχον ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἠγήσανδρος, πίνειν αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράφει· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελούμεν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine, but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist"'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Demachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusara-Amitraghāta. From Pliny² we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusara or Asōka.³

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]'. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.⁴ Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Indica*, reached from Patnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.⁵ With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahavamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Asōka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Asōka's thirteenth rock edict, which, as stated above (p. xxii), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhisheka* 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Asōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

¹ See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I, 92. The word *amitrāghata* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87, cf. J.R.A.S., 1909, 425.

² *Δεινσοφοισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

³ *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454f).

⁴ As stated above (p. xxii), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Asōka's rock-edicts.

⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3. J.R.A.S., 1906, 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alhasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusara twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalīṅgas; rock-edict XIII.

2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sambōdhi (i.e. Bodh-Gayā), rock-edict VIII.

3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):

(1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, rock-edict III

(2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects, rock-edict IV.

(3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.

(4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas, two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions

4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality, rock edict V.

5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size), Nigāli Sāgar pillar.

6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas), the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lummīni and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇakamana; Rummundē and Nigāli Sāgar pillars.

8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI

9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dvānampriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāthiāwār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast, in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State, and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra in the Peshāwar and Hazāra districts and at Kālāsi in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was **Pāṭaliputra**, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāta*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sāmāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavamsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśoka's capital. From the *Mudra rakshasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλιβοθρα or Μαλιβοθρα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:¹

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτέρα αὐτῇ ἰσότης ᾖ κείσται ἐς ὀδοῦντα σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα τάρβον δι περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχων, πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίου ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πόλιν τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and sixty gates.'²

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern **Patnā** is well known to the Hindus. The capital belonged to the ancient province of **Magadha**,³ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśoka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁴ This is **Sambōdhi**, now **Bōdh-Gayā** to the south of Patna.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions **Kōsambī** (*Kauṭāmbi* in Sanskrit), which is the modern **Kōsam** (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśoka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāsamātra* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,⁵ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I. AA and BB, viz., **Ujjainī** (*Ujjayini*) and **Takkhasilā** (*Takshasila*). Aśoka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśoka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayini in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.⁶ Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti, and the *Ὀζύνη* of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern **Ujjain** in the Gwalior State. Takshasila, the *Τάξιλα* of the

¹ Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Fieberhard in *Ariani Scripta Minora* (Lipsing, 1885), X, 6 f (p. 13)

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6 131.

³ Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff., Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

⁵ BRWW, 2. 115

⁶ BRWW, 1. 235 ff., EI, II, 141

⁷ *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 15, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhārī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayini, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*) Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauri and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauri were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugada belonged was called **Samāpā**,⁴ and the Jaugada rock had then the name **Khēpūṅgala**.⁵

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rummindī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Luhmini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśoka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*)⁶. Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambojas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāṭhikas** (*Ristika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rastika*, at Gūrār) and **Pitṇikas** (also spelt *Pitṇika* or *Pitṇika*).⁷ As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambojas have to be placed in Kābul.⁸ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province, at the time of the *Siyāki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.⁹ The Rāthikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāshṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kathiavār, whose governor bore the title of *Rashṭriya*.¹⁰ The Pitṇikas or Pitṇikas¹¹ have not yet been localized.

¹ *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kalingas' (from Telugu *mudu*, 'three', + *Kalinga*), see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmanas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkalunga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mudgalunga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikalunga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kalinga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravāḥa, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugada separate edict I, B, and II, B.

⁵ See the Jaugada rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rüpnāth, Sahasram, and Bairāt, II, Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, I, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigveda*, and Gandara in the inscriptions of Darius, cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rashṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

¹⁰ The identification of Pitṇika with Pratiśthāna is phonetically impossible, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparnī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamil country, and Tāmraparnī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamil) were known to Ptolemy; the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδύαν*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparnī (*Ταμροβάρνι*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparnī two other borderers, viz **Satiyaputra** (*Satiyaputa* at Kālsī) and **Kēralaputra**. The former has not yet been identified successfully.² The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called *Κηρόβατρος* in the *Periplus*³ and *Κηρόβατρος* by Ptolemy.⁴

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparnī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king **Antiyoka** and his four neighbours.⁵ The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*īha rāja-vishaya*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shahbargarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinkya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince,⁶ and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhojadhīrāja*) is mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of Śankaravarman of Kāśmīr.⁷ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.⁸ Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Audarac*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.⁹ As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.¹⁰ The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.¹¹

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

⁴ Ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁵ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta, see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Rājataranginī*, V, verse 151, cf. E.I., I, 135. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahabhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 100, and Senart, E.I., 7, 50.

⁹ See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv f.

¹⁰ See IA, 6, 339.

¹¹ The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the *Pārada* were probably a people in Gedrosia, see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.) 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Kṛakucchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāṣṭu, see BRWW, I, xlviii. The *Bhāhmapurāṇa* (Auf. echt. 2 Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhukapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus, see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayini, Tōsali, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne¹ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kaluvāki* and was the mother of *Tivala*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the *Yavana* king *Tushāspa* who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the *Maurya Aśoka*.² Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātras*,³ or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādetika*.⁴ Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.⁵ In two places⁶ we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭaliputra*, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāra* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*atavi*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsali* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāra* or *nagaraka*)⁷. At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,⁸ i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśoka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmanas and Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśoka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the *Rājākas*¹² or *Lajākas*. They were 'placed

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

² See the Junāgarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 47.

³ See the Dhauḷi separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhauḷi, A and Y, and at Jaugada, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhauḷi, F, and at Jaugada, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M, the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men', and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.¹ Buhler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājuka* and *Lajuka* are derived from **Rajjuka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gahaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Ṭataka*.² The *Rajjuka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.³

Along with the *Rājuka* and the *Prādīśika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautilīya*.⁴ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dāta*) of *Divānūm-priya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōlas and Pāndyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.⁵

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).⁶ It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajukas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (*pratiśāda*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.⁷ It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant park (*nāga-vaṇa*) of the king. As Buhler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,⁸ the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 228) speaks of high officers (*ἐργαστες*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ These are evidently the *ἐφόροι* or *ἐπισκοποί* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the city, and the latter the courtesans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Gīrnār rock-edict VI, D.

⁹ Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Asvādhyaśka* and *Hastyaśka* of the *Kautilya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaśka* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpens is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikarena* in Kharoṣṭhī characters,¹ showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.² The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Uṇādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharoṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achaemenian inscriptions.³ Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhta*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *upista*, *nipista*, *nipesapita*,⁴ which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *n-pish*, 'to write'.⁵ The words *ayī dhrama-dipi upista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 — [tu]zam kū hya aparam imām dipim vainūky tyām adam niyapī[sha]m, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written',⁶ and Xerxes says at Van — yunay dipim nary nīpīstām akunaush pasāya adam niyashatāyam imām dipim nīpīstānuy, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written, afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of *Sindhu* and *Gandhāra* belonged to the Persian empire.⁸ The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet⁹ and the Persepolitan capital¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts, 'king *Duvānampriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achaemenian formula *θaśy Dārayavausk* (*Xshayārshū, Artaxshadrā*) *xshāyabiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Iranians in his service.

¹ Brahmagiri, I, 13, Siddāpura, I, 22, Jatinga-Rāmčvara, I, 22.

² Bühler, I, I, 3, 135.

³ Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913, 654.

⁵ See id., 1914, 97.

⁶ See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

⁷ See id., p. 53 f.

⁸ The provinces of Hindu and Gandara are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Trdol* and *Tardāpion* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

⁹ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2, 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmir historian Kalhana also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.¹ According to the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśikha*.² He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Stūpas* in as many towns, besides the *Asokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.³

(Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.)

(1) In the Calcutta-Barat rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.⁴

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāmechi, and Sārnath pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.⁵

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to *Sambhōdhi*, i.e. Bodhi-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (p. 393), Aśoka visited *Bōdhi* in the company of the *Stāvira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at *Lumbini-vana*, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rumminder pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of *Lūmīnī* and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sagar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kalsi and Dhaulī rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.⁶ On the Girnar rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

¹ *Rājataranginī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Sāntāvāsada*.

² See *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 18, 24, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34, *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

³ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year, but see IA, 20 233, n. 18.

⁴ See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵ See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

⁶ See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;¹ cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Baurāṭ, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years, and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavamsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upeta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered', and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhutisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhutisāni* was a misreading for *adhutiyāni*, 'two and a half',³ Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3, 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*ānapajātī*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fact accompli*;⁶ (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk,⁷ and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21, 235, No. 98. *Bhagavato ākramānta* (read thus instead of *ākramānta* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See *Dīpavamsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913 657.

⁶ See Senart, IA, 20, 236.

⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908, 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.¹ Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samanatapaśādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.²

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not preclude the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.³ Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura edicts read 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.⁴ In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*deva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāni*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivāseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sarnath edict. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sarnath and, along with it, *vivāseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.⁷ Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20, 234, and cf. JA (11), 7, 435 ff.

² *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 3, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185, *Samanatapaśādikā*, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892, see JA (8), 19, 481, and cf. my remark in JRAS, 1910, 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7, 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D, Maski, C, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, E.

⁵ See JRAS, 1913, 652 f.

⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912, 105; ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15, 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,¹ when he had spent 256 nights² on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place, but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a)
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhiśhka</i>	Conquest of Kalinga.
	"	VIII	Visit to Sambōdhi.
	Pillar-edict VI		Publication of rescripts on morality
	Rock-edict IV		Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhiśhka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.³ If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kalinga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.⁴ Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chandāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds, afterwards he became known as Dharmaśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.⁵

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.⁶ But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lātr*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty three years, is due to Thomas, see JA (10), 15, 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section F. of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the *Dvayāvadāna*, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20, 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Divānūmīya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sambōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brahmanas and Śramanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātrav* thirteen years after the *abhisheka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;¹ but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.²

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Banāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauṣāmbī, Sāmbhū, and Sarnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śāstrana*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it). will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

¹ JRAS, 1911, 1097.

² *id.*, 1910, 1307 f.

³ See above, p. xlix

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājaka*, and the *Prādetika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhisheka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindus have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindu kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindu he acknowledged the 'debt' (*ṛṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śadbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*).

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world)'

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking) "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M, Sahasrām, II, J, Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K, Sahasrām, L, M, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

³ Cf. also the Dhauḷi separate edict I, Z—CC

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and of the second separate edict at Dhauḷi, H, and at Jaugada, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him, see id, L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

⁵ See the first separate edict at Jaugada, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājivikas,¹ Nirgranthas (i.e. Jains), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H)

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhist in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.³ The Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajukas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhaulī, J, K, Y, Jaugarā, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapadam*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'⁴ 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions'. The *Dhammapadam* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājivikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, J, and VII, Y.

³ Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ἀδὴς βασιλική* = *rāja paṭha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pataliputra, which 'has been measured by *stadias* (1 *σχοῖρος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id. p. 126).

⁴ Senart, IA, 20, 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.¹

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, *Dvānāhpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders, firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstinence from killing animals, abstinence from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramanas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, (and) abstinence from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section IHH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brahmanas and Śramanas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmanical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgarhi) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstinence from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen, but he promises that even this

¹ Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμῆναι* and *Σαρμῆναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι, see IA, 6. 243.

³ Cf. the *Mangala-sūtra* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V, JRS, 1870. 312 ff) or *Mahāmangala-sūtra* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest mangala'.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,¹ and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).² From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahimsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects.

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz) by moral restrictions and by instruction.' But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence, by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers, see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD.

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity'. These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods.

Saccham bhane na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito
ctehi tñi thānehi gacchhe devāna santike ||

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*.

Sabbapāpass' akaranam kusala'ss' upasampada
sacchittaparyodapanam etam Buddhana sāsanaṃ ||

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914 392 ff.

² Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part 1 (SBE, 13), p. 1. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nyāta*. Cf. *Suttanipata*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*astilasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmā sīle tiṣṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sila-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa silavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark. *sukaram hi pāpam*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāni avādhāni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words 'dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassam vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresam katākataṃ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)¹ do not tally with the *āsava*s and *kilesa*s of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry' and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttitthe nappamajjeyya dhammam sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prākrama*) for their subject.³ He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugada, N.

² See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

³ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugada, P.

⁴ Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapāda* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the *Dhammapāda*, verse 273 :

virago seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ||

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.'

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapāda* :

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhunā sādhunā jine
jine kadāryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavadināṃ ||

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M-O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.' And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Devānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Devānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P-U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapāda* they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kāśī), X, C, XI, E, XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauī separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K, the pillar-edict I, C III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapāda*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūro soṭṭhim āgataṃ
ñātimittā suhajā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā param gataṃ
puññāni patigāhanti piyaṃ ñāṭva āgataṃ ||

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

² Cf. the Dhauī separate edict II, G.

³ The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*, see Rhys Davids *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20 320 ff.

⁴ See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, I; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

* saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbantaṃ anāsavaṃ |

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugada.¹ The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauḷi and Jaugada, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauḷi and Jaugada formed part of the newly conquered country of Kālīṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugada were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Devānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven, that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality, (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauḷi separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhi.

'And *Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'²

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhishikā*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauḷi must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātra*s as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindē and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Samchi, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara.

¹ See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

² See above, p. lvi and n. 4.

ASOKA'S DHARMA

(2) Rock-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I-XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānschrā.
- (b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugadā.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mirath, &c.
- (b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōpra.

III. Donative inscriptions.

- (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
- (2) Queen's pillar-edict.

CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *ausadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadhā dialect.¹

The *e* of *eta* (= **stra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*, see Johansson, *Shākh*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garīṣṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakrits have *lhu* (for **lhl*), an enclitic form of *khalu* instead of it.²

In the foreign name *Antiyaka*=*Ἀντιόχος*, *ῥ* is expressed by *a*. In [A]nti[ek]ina=Ἀντιόχου, *r* and *s* correspond to *i* and *ῥ*, and in *Turamāya*=Πτολεμαῖος, *u* and *a* to *ῥ* and *i*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ri*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *tārīsa*, *tārīsa*, *yārīsa* (=Skt. *tārīṣa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripucchā* and *vuta* (= *vṛtta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānāṣa* (= *ānṛṣa*), *kacha* (= *kritya*), *kata*, *dadha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magaviyā*, *mata* (= *mṛta*, XIII, 1), *vstata*, *vyāpata*, *sukadaya*³ (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛddhi*, IV, 11). In *vadhi* (= *vṛddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usata*⁴ the *ri*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vraṣṭha* (= *vṛkṣha*, II, 8) the vowel *ri* is represented by the syllabic *ra*, and in *suṣṭāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *ṣru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvi f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *poṭra*, *prapotaṭra*, *osudha*, *opaga* and *opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānāntarai*⁵ (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāy[ke]*⁶ (= *ātyāyika*, VI, 7), *mādhurātā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *āṭtsu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= *abhiḥkāra*, V, 7), *abhiramaka* (VIII, 2), *pativesiya* (= *prativītya*, XI, 3), *patubhā*[g]a (XIII, 4), *sampratipati* (=Skt. *sampratipatti*, IV, 2, also spelt *sampratipati* and *sampratipati*), *vivāha*⁷ (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhih*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhi* (IX, 2), *pamthesā* (II, 8).

Initial *i* is shortened in *aropai*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms: *āradho*,⁸ *ārādhi* (i.e. **āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

¹ I use the term 'Māgadhā dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Pāli grammarians, cf. Michelson, AJP, 30, 284.

² S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23, 269 f.

³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. *sukṛd*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhaya* in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsyita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakrit *utsiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *utckhrīta*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *utckhrīta* from the root *srj* instead of *ṣrj*.

⁵ The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadhā *ānāntalyāyā*, see the Dhāuli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kāśī, Dhāuli, and Jaugada have *atyāyika*, Pāli both *acchāyika* and *acchleka* (i.e. **acchayika*)

⁷ Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. *ā addha-kṛta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādh*. The short *a* of *etārisaiḥ* (= *etādrisam*), *etārisam* (= *etādrivām*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in* — *Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evam-api* (II, 4). The initial *i* of *isti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nistro ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kṛiti* or *kṛti*.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = *'Avrioxos* and *[A]nif[k]ona* = *'Avriyovos*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of γ into y ; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9 345 ff. Skt *gh* has become *k* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3, XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*, cf. *vnachaiti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhi.

Skt. *ṣ* is preserved in *kalāna* (= *kalyāna*), *ganana*, *charana*, *prakarana* and *pakarana*, *pāna* and *pāna*, *vimikkamaṇa* (from *vimik-kram*), *sramana* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *śh* — *agṇa* (= *agṇina*), *paṭākamaṇa*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhiramakāna*, *rūpāni*, *sahasraṇi*, *Gāndhārāṇam*, *gurunam*, *ihārāṇam*, *manusāṇam* and *mānūsāṇam* (= *mānushāṇam*). On the other hand, lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpunati* (from Skt. *prāpṇōti*), *darvaṇa* and *dusavaṇa* (= *daravana*), *saṃtiranā* (from *śrayati*), and without apparent reason in *iona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *rs* in *usate* and *vadhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *rs* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *dh* through the influence of the preceding *śh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *anushadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *pati* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṃpratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dīpi* in Ancient Persian, see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gūnāi dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *idha*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tihu* (= Vedic *tēbhik*), *paṭivesyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhu*, viz. *hote* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahusnu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati* *bhave*, *bhuta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = *'Avrioxos*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *ya* (II, 4) and *ava* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by Samprasaṇa, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *pativedeitha*, while e.g. *pūyayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hūpayichyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *icchayitavya*, *a-rūchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochitavya*, *[a]-lochitvā*, while *aya* remains in *dasayitvā* = Skt. *darśayitva*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maura* and then *moia* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai* — *trayadāia* (= Skt. *trayadāia*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sana-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharya*, becomes *sana-charya* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.¹

Lingual *d* corresponds to Sanskrit *l* in *mahidā*, and to Tamil *l* in *hoda* 'The *l* of *lochitavya* and *[a]-lochitvā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Magadha dialect, see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *i* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhi versions are translations from the Magadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kāsi).² Another instance in which *i* corresponds to *l* is **ārabhate*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhati*, see below, p. lxi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6, XIV, 4). An *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by Samprasaṇa to *au* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avavādhana*, **avavāditavya* become *hote*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *orodhitavya*. The contracted form *hote* and its original,

¹ Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puṭṭha* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puṇiya* and **puṇiva*.

² If my explanation of *supadāiye* at Kāsi, Dhauri, and Jaugada (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right *supadāiave* at Mānsehra would be another wrong translation from the Magadha dialect.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaura* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prakṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout e.g. *paśu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prakṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*), Skt. *tat*, *etat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*, Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhatat*, *vasētyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyn*, and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imaya dhammānussasiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chukichha* (II, 4), and in the 3rd sing. optative *tisteya* (for **tisthēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yasah*, *rāho* = *ājñah*, *tistanto* = *tisthantah*, *Dvānāmpriyo* = *Dīvānāmpriyah*), but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpīye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Maga*, XII, 8, *sā* = Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10, *esā* = *ēshah*¹) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ś*ek]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyah*, VIII, 5, and *isa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachits*, *rahi*, *himi*, but *i* in *hēti*, etc.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals, e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānam*, and *karuṇ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing, see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *matam*, XIII, 1), *māda*, *vinikkhamana*, *saku* (= *sakum*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kuti* and *kits* (= *kirtum*), *chhāts* (= *kshāntum*), *vā[ā]dhs* (= *vraddhm*), *susumera* (= *śūtrishēran*), *karu* (for *karum*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).²

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gānanāyā*, *bhūtānām*, *yasaṁ*, *lāṭṭinam*, *gūṇanam*, *anuvataṁ*), but it is preserved in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7), *phūṇam*, *yātām*, *anuvadhīyatām*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *phūṇam*, XII, 2), *makhāhāvah[ā]*, *susru[ni]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *īsa* (= *ēshām*, XIII, 4) and *samtānāya* (loc. sing. of *samtānā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opyā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-amūthā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,³ and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evam apī* (II, 2) and *kataryam eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ṇam-amūthā (= Skt. *anyonyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesa* (= *bhūtā-ryish*, V, 5, cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a + ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*, e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānussanam*, *pranarambho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhamm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhustānaya* (V, 4), *etayam* (= **stra + ayam*, VIII, 3), before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *cherva* (IV, 7, XIV, 4), *chervā* (XIII, 4), *ta[te]va* (= *satratat*, IX, 4), *ten-va* (VIII, 3), before *o* in *m[a]nuss-opyagā[ri]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *i + a* is *i* in *itihyahka* (= *stry-adyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prakṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *ṭp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhutpā*, *dasayitpā*, [*a*]-*loketpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadūtpano(ne)*, *katpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *ty* (written *yo*) in *vyamyanato*, *vyayanam*, *vyāpātā*, *apa-vyayātā*, *divyāni*, *magaryā*, *kataryya*, *vataaryam*, *prajūhitarayam*, *evāditaryam*, *vujitarayam*, *loketaryyā*, *pa[śi]redetā[ri]yam*.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the R̥gveda *eva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *evam*.

³ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *st* (written *śs*) in *anusasti*, *seste*, *tstanto*, *sisteya*, *stīdā*, *-adhistānāya*, *ustāna*, *mistānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt *dvādaśa* (III, 1, IV, 12) 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *rv* surely should become *ʿp*. Hence gerunds in *-ipā* (Skt. *-tva*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *āpāra* 'Skt. *ātma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *ʿv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:— 'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-ajya*, as the same symbol is used in all cases *vyasanam* would be unpronounceable. Buhler's argument from Pāli that *ʿv* is correct from the analogy of *yā* from Skt *ky* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bb* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ts* has been transcribed by *st*, although Franke (*Gurupūjanamudrā*, p. 26, note) thinks that *st* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gurnar alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Snart (*Inscriptions de Pyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *lr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahava*, *śunāru*, *baku-srūtā*, *susrūtā*, *śrāvāpakam*, *-sramanānam*, *-nisrūto*, *o[pa]parisra-*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varśābhūto* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvato* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4, VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadhā form *-puru* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-puru*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting ' before the *v*, of the same spelling in the Shāhbargarh and Mānschā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prakṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārulevī and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter, e.g. *aggi* = Skt *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *ladha* = *labha* becomes *ladha*, *gabha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijhatti* = **nuthyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use, e.g. *dhamma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *amūa* and *āna* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prakṛits, e.g. *ñati* = Skt *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāna* = *piṇa*, *bhāti* = *bhrāti*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened, see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhama* (also *dhamma*) = *dhamā*, *sāva* (also *vara*) = *varsha*, *chikichhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājaka* (from *raju* or *rajū*, see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened, see *anusasti*. Skt *anūsāsti*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āyeshu*, *kitti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kirti*, *uggha* (i.e. *uggha*) = *uggha*, *pūva* (i.e. *pūva*) = *pūva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled, cf. Pichel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhūya* (= Skt *bhūyah*), *anuvdhiyare* and *anuvdhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvdhiyati*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhūyya*, *anuvdhiyare* and *anuvdhiyatām*, and that consequently *tishya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tisthyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing opt act¹. But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged, see *asamā[a]ñ* (= Skt *asamāptam*), *āchāy[tr]* (= *ātyayikam*), *ānapayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *atpa* (= *ātma-*), *tadātpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *purākrama*, *brā[m]hana* and *bāmhana* (also *bramhana* and *bamhana*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahanthāvaha*), *uāna*

¹ Similarly *nuha* may represent **nuchhā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

(= *rāyā*), *Ki(Rā)stika* (= *Rāshtrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *stihyakhha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tīṣṭo* (= *tīraka*), *sāmpī[am]* (= *sāmpīyam*)

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tambupāṇini* (= Skt *Tāmrāparṇi*) and *Devānamprīya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), [*ā*] *pūrātā* (= *āparāntā*), *chhātī* (= *kshānti*), [*u*] *yātū* (= *myātū*), *Pādū* (= *Pāṇḍyā*), *bhada* (= *bhānda*), *karote* (for **karomte*, IX, 3), *karote* (for **karomte*), *pātī* (read *hoti*, for **homti*). In *avīhīsā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *im* of *utīmāsa* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[m]sā*, *susruṁsā*, *susruṁsā* the short nasalized vowel *u* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūṣū* (III, 4), and in *susruṣā* and *susruṣātā* the Anusvāra of *u* is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel: *magala* (IX, 3) = *mangala*, the two 3 pers plur *ichhātī* (VII, 2) and *prāpūnātī* (XIII, 4), *sambādha* (XI, 1) = *sambādha*, *savtuta* (twice) = *samvūtuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *samkṛāya*, *pāsada* (twice) = *pāshanda*, *sayama* = *samyama*, *savata* (also *sauvata*) = *vaivartta*, *kich[ī]* (also *kimich*) = *kimich*, *kīti* (also *kūti*) = *kūti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsada* (= Skt *paśchada*) is a recognised variant of *pāśanda* (*paśam*); cf. *prashada* and *prashanda* at Shāhārgarhi. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savata* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following *a*-vowel, cf. Panini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichī* and *kīti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchī* and *kīttī* = **kid + chid* and **kid + tī*, see Johansson, *Shāhā*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gurnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahatī* and *garahā* (= Skt *garhātī* and *garhā*), *i* in *patīvesiya* (= *pratīvesiya*), *puñā* (for **punya* — Skt. *punya*), *samachura* (for **samachariya* = Skt. *śama chariya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpūnātī* (3 pers plur act of Skt. *prāpūnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *itthī* (1 c *itthī*, = Skt. *stīrī*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gurnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhīsta*, *bhātī*, *yuta*, *vatayum*, *vntam*,

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*

li remains in *atīkrā[ā]m* (VI, 1), *parāksamāmī*, *parākramana*, but becomes *k* in *atīkrātum* (*parāks*) [*a*] *mūta* (IX, 3)

ks becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5), see Buhler, ZDMG, 40, 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *stihyakhha*, *samkhit[ī]na*, *chh* in *chhāntī*, *achhatum*, *chhamstave*, *chhūtī*, *chhudam*, *chhudakama*, *va chhū*

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *anugaho*

pā becomes *mā* or *ñ* in *kālamātātī*, *rāñā*, *iññ*, *āñapayāmī*, *āñapayisatī*, *āñapitām*, *ñātī*, *ñātika*

dy becomes *d* in *Pāda* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyā*)

ny becomes *nn* in *ānannām*, *hīnanna*, *mā* or *ñ* in *apūnnām* and *puñām*.²

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa*. Cf. *tp* — *tv*, below

ty becomes *ch* in [*a*] *pacham*, *achhāy[ī]* [*ki*], *itokachava*, *chachā*, *kacham*, *paruchajitpā*, *prachamisu*.

Other instances of palatalization are: *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kī*, *ksh*.

ti remains or becomes *t*, see e.g. *tī* and *tt*, *tatra* and *tata*, *ānātra* and *ānata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *puta* and *puta*, *mita* and *mita*, *mahamātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chitpāro*, *ābhutpā*, [*u*] *lochetpā*, *dasayutpā*, *paruchajitpā*, *tadūtpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *tb* = *dv* in *dbāhava*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikīchhā*, *s* in *usātana*.³

stth becomes *st* in *ustāna* for **ut-sthāna*,⁴ while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

dj becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipaptha*, *j* in *nyāneva*.

¹ Perhaps *susruṣā* is meant for *susruṣā*, as *bhuya* for *bhūyā*; see above, p. lxx. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

² For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

³ Cf. *thana* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

⁴ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

- dr* becomes *d* in *chhudaṁ*, *chhudaḥkena*.
dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *sthiḥhaka*, *nīḥhāṭi*, *maḥhamena*.
dhr remains in *dhrūvo*, [*A**]*nīdhīa*.
ny becomes *mū* or *ñ* in *amūa* and *añā*, *manūāṭi* and *manāṭe*, *ñayāsu*. Cf *apṛmūa* = Skt *apṛmūya*.
pt becomes *t* in *guṭi*, *nīḥhāṭi*, *asamāṭ[a]m*, *samkhiṭ[ε]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).
pn becomes *pun* in *prāpnāṭi* (from Skt *prāpnōti*).
py becomes *p* in *sāmip[ān]*.
pr remains or becomes *p*, see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prana* and *pana* (IX, 5).
Devānamprīya and *Devīnamprīya*, *Priyadasi* and *Priyadasi*, *pratiṭṭi* and *patiṭṭi*, *tha* (XIV, 4).
sainipratiṭṭi and *sainipatiṭṭi* (IV, 6).
bdk becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.
br remains in *brā[m]hanu* (IV, 2) and *brahmāna* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bimhona* and *bamhāna* (IX, 5).
bhy becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhure*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhasuri*.
bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.
my remains in *sanya-*.
mr becomes *m* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Tambapamni*.
rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.
rg becomes *gh* in *dighaya*.
rn becomes *nm* in *Tambapamni*.
rt becomes *t* in *katarya*, *kiti* or *kitti*, *anur[ā]tari*, *anuvataram*, *anuvatisari*, *t* in *samvata* or *savata*.
rth becomes *th* in *atha*.
rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.
rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vadhayisamti* (IV, 9), *dh* in *vadhayati* (XII, 4), *vadhayisati* (IV, 7), *vadhita*. Cf *t* for *rt* in *samvata*.
rbb becomes *bb* in *gabdhāgāramhi*.
rm becomes *nm* or *m* in *kanm* (= Skt *kārmān*), *dhunma* and *dhamā*.
ry becomes *y* in *ayis*,¹ but is represented by *ry* in *samachairam*, which presupposes the form **samachaiyām* (= Skt **sama-chaiyam*), see above, p. lii.
rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt *pūru* we have *puru* in IV, 5, while *pūruva*, which is probably meant for *pūruva*, occurs in two places, see above, p. lix.
rj becomes *rs* in *vīmanā-darsanā*, but *r* in *hasti-d[ā]tānā*, *davanē*, *dasayitpa*, *Priyadasi*.
daspanam (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam*.
rsh becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *r* in *vāsu* (= Skt *vārsha*).
rshy becomes *s* in *kasati*, *kāsanti*, *kaśa[m]ti*.
rk becomes *ruh* in *garakati*, *garahā*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kupā*.
ly becomes *t* in *kalāna*.
vy remains in *vyājanato*, *-vyayātā*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *dicyāni*, *magasya*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūyāna* (XII, 4).
vr becomes *v* in *ti[v]u*, [*pa*]*vaptāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3, XII, 9) = Skt *vajra*.
sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* - *ś* *śhr*, *ksh*, *chh* = *ts*, *kī*, *ksh*, *th* = *sti*.
śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *śy* in *patvīśtye* (XI, 3).
śr becomes *sr* in *sramana*, *suvrūṭā*, *susrū[m]ā*, *susrūsa*, *susuvata*, *bahu-srnta*, *sīśvapakam*, *nisrīto*, but *s* in *samana*, *susumsa*, *susumsra*, *sīste* (= Skt *śrīśthāni*).
śv becomes *sv* in *siveto*.
shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*kataṁ*, *dukaraṁ*.
ghkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamana*.

¹ The 3 plur imper act [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*, cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

sth becomes *st* in *Ri(Rā)stika*
sth loves its aspiration and becomes *st* in *seste, tusteya, tustanto, nistānāya, -adhistānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhī forms *sustu* = Skt *sushu* and *kostāgālaṃ* = *kōsthāgāram* (Hemachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girmār *stita* = Skt. *sthita*, *ustāna* = **ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)stika* = *Rāshtrika*, *anvast* = *annāst*.

shy becomes *s* in *mausa, ānapaysati*, and in other futures
śl becomes *kh* in *agī-kh[a]mdhāni*
st remains in *asti, nāsti, hāsti, samstuta, vastata*, it becomes *st* in *anvast*.
str becomes *th* in *ithi*
sth becomes *th* in *thaira, st* in *gharastāni*,¹ and *st* in *stītā*
sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *amhi*
sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa, asu* of root *as*.
sr remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).
sv remains in *svaṣa, svamilena, svayam*, but becomes *s* in *sarasakr* (XIII, 11).
hm becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *bamhana* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *bhalmāna*

B—DECLENSION

I BASES IN -a

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a

Singular.		Plural.
Nom masc <i>jano</i> , &c	} neut <i>de</i>	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c, neut <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc <i>janam</i> , &c		Masc. <i>yutē, athi</i> , neut <i>dvyāni, rūpāni</i>
Inst <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>pativasiyehi, satuhi</i>
Dat <i>athāya</i> , &c		
Abl <i>lapa, -hitatpā, packhā</i>		
Gen <i>janusa</i> , &c		<i>thairunam</i> , &c
Loc (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c, (b) <i>kālē, ē</i>		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala, mata, mādava* (acc.), *vikhamana*. In many instances the Māgadhī termination -e is used, (a) masculines — *parisavi*,¹ *a[pa]-parisavi*, *Devanampiye* (XII, 1), *prādesti*, *bhu[g]e, rājyke, sakale, sayame*; (b) neuters — *āchāy[ke]*, *kamme, -charane, tarise, dasane, dāni, -puru, bahuvudhe, mangale, -mate, mah[ā]-phal, mahulake, mūl, yariv, vadhite, vup[ut]e, seste*. The wrong form *-pativudhano* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Guṇā version thoughtlessly replaced the -e of the Māgadhī neuter *pativudhāne* by -o, as in the masculine *jano*, &c = Māgadhī *jane*, &c. The foreign name *A[ma]t[er]i* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Maṣā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athaya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōpī pillar-edict VII, c Text, p 22, n 3 and Michelson, JAOS, 31, 240.

Loc sing.—In *pravāsamhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination -e occurs also in *pakarani, pakurani, Pataliputi, vyaye, vyute, saravake, tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.¹

The acc plur masc uses the termination *āni*, which, as shown by Luders (SPAW, 1913, 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Aihāmāgadhī dialect, in four instances:—*agī-kh[a]mdhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pisandāni cha [pa]jvayitāni cha gharastāni cha phiyayati* (XII, 1)

The acc plur neut has the termination -ā instead of -āni in *vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-da[sa]ni cha* (IV, 3).

Gen plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7)

Loc plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *panthesu* (II, 8)

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hemachandra, II, 144, Skt *graha* is replaced by *ghara*

² The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine, see Luders, SPAW, 1913, 1004 and n 5.

³ Cf. *-pativudhāno* for *-pativudhāne* in the nom sing

(2) Feminines in -ā

Singular.	Plural.
Nom <i>icchā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4), (b) <i>mahādyo</i>
Acc <i>pūjān</i> , <i>yātān</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>ganandāyān</i> , <i>parisāyām</i> .	

Acc sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahākhārah[a]* (X, 1) *susrū[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *santivanāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative

Nom. plur.—In *chakichha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -*ao* in the Prakṛits, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II BASES IN -i

(1) Masculines in -i

Nom. plur. *tri*, *ti*.
Gen. plur. *ñātinam*
Loc. plur. *ñātiṣu*.

The nom. plur. in -i is common in Prakṛit, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī

Singular.	Plural
Nom <i>hīṇī</i> , &c.	<i>ataviyo</i>
Acc <i>śambodhinī</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anuvastiyā</i> , <i>bhatiyā</i>	
Dat - <i>anuvastiya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	

Nom. sing.—The final *i* remains short in *apachiti*, *rati*, *huni*

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *kiti* (X, 2), *kitti* (X, 1), *chhati* (XIII, 11) *r[a]dhi* (IV, 11).

III BASES IN -u

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurunam* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahuni*, and instr. plur. *bahuh*. The nom. sing. *sādhu* is the same in all three genders.

IV BASES IN -ri

Instr. sing. masc. *pitā* (for *pitrā*), *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*
Loc. sing. *pitari*, *mātari* and *mātō[i]*

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

As in other Prakṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyān* (VI, 7). The present participle *rat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *santo*. Of base-in -*an*, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *panthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadhā nom. sing. *kamne* and the dat. sing. *kammā[a]*

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms

(1) Present participles in -at

Nom. sing. masc. *karun* or *karu*.
Nom. plur. masc. *tistamto*.

The nom. sing. *karun* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karoti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karōito*) and *santo* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

INTRODUCTION

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc neut. <i>nāma</i>	
Instr <i>rājā</i>	
Gen. <i>rājā</i>	

In the nom sing. masc [*Yō*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yōna rājā*

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadast, hasti</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .
Gen sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .

(4) Neuters in -as

Acc Sing *yaso, bhuya* (= Skt *bhūyah*)

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person

Nom sing <i>aham</i>
Instr. sing <i>mayā</i> .
Gen sing <i>mama, me</i>

(2) Base *ta*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc. <i>so</i> } neut <i>ta</i>	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. <i>ta</i>	
Instr <i>tāna</i> .	
Dat <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i>	<i>te[sa]u, tesa</i>
Loc <i>tamhi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem *sā*

In *phl-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom sing masc ends in -*ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *tat*) occur twice (X, 3, XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadhā equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10

(3) Base *na*.

Acc plur masc. *ne*, neut. *nāni*

For this pronoun see Hemachandra, III, 70, 77

(4) Base *ta*.

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>ta</i> (X, 3), ¹ <i>esā</i> , neut. <i>ta, etam, esa</i>	Masc <i>ete</i>
Acc neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3)	
Dat <i>etāya, etakāya</i>	
Gen <i>etava</i>	
Loc. <i>etamhi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom sing masc *esā* (VIII, 5,² XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *ta* (= Skt *tat*) occurs twice, and *etam* once (X, 4), while the masculine

¹ Cf above, p. lxii, n. 2

² See Text, p. 15, n. 7

form *esa*¹ is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hc̣machandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa sirañ* (= Skt. *śaśchhīrah*) Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *re*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *śak* and *śat*), and see Fischl's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idaṃ*

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>ayam</i> , neut <i>idaṃ</i> , <i>ayañ</i>	Masc <i>im</i>
Acc. neut <i>idaṃ</i> .	
Instr. <i>imāñ</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i>	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*, *ayañ*.

Dat. sing. fem. *imāya*

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idañ* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3) The masculine *ayam* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times In Pālī only *ayam* is used as feminine

(6) Interrogative Pronoun

The nom. sing. neut. *kī* (for *kim*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kam*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3 Of the indefinite base *kimchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kimchi* or *kichhi* (X, 3) The compound *kichhi* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>ya</i> , neut. <i>ja</i>	Masc. <i>ya</i> , neut. <i>yāñ</i>
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[m]</i>	
Gen. <i>yasa</i>	<i>yasam</i>

Nom. plur. fem. *yā*

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[m]* is found only in X, 3, while *ja* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>amñi</i> , neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añi</i>	Masc. <i>a[m]āñi</i> , <i>a</i>
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]namamñasa</i>	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i>	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *amñi* (VIII, 5) and *añi* (IV, 7) are Māgadha form,¹ while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular	Plu
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>arvam</i> , <i>sarvañ</i>	Masc. <i>sarv</i>
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ñve</i> .	<i>[sa]vañ</i>

(10) Base *ikatāva*

Loc. sing. *ikatāvamhi*

(11) Base **ikatya*

Nom. plur. masc. *chachā*²

¹ Cf. above, p. 121.

² The corresponding Pālī form is *chachhi*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pālī*, §

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing masc. *eko*

Two,

Nom. masc. *dvo*, fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Girmāi dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *tri*, *ti*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *catpāro*

Five

Loc. *pañchasu*

Ten, twelve, thirteen

dasa, *dvādasa*, *traidasa*

Hundred

Acc. plur. *satāni*, instr. *satāhi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasāni*.

F.—CONJUGATION

I PRESENT

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class

Root *kram* *parākrāmāmi*, *pari(vā)k[ṛ]amate* The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *kīramati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle

Root *gam* *gacchāmi*Root *garh* *garahati*Root *dris* *pasati* (= *pasati* = Skt. *paśyati*)Root *bhu* *bhāvati* and *hoti*

Root *labh* The absolutive *ārabhūtā* and the passive forms *ārabhate*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisat* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhati*)

Root *vas* *vasya*Root *vit* *anu(v[ṛ]at)*Root *sthā* *tishṭhi*

Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *asti*Root *yā* [*y*] *yoti*Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class *upahānāti*

Third Sanskrit class

The gerundive *prajūhita*, *yam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pali *jvhati* (for **juhvati*). see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad* *patipadyātha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*)Root *man* *mamati* (= Skt. *manayati*)

Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *āp* follows the ninth class *prāpnamti* (for **namti*).¹

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3 plur. imperative active *śruṇvatu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ich* *ichhati*

Seventh Sanskrit class

Both *bhuj* (*bhujy[a]mānasa*, VI, 3) and *juh* (*jujantu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class

Root *kṛt* *karoti*

Root *kṣan* follows the *a* conjugation *chlanati*

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives

(a) With *ava* *puyayati*, *dayayitpa*, *dīpayama*, *arādhayantu*, *śadhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *i* in *patire detha pat[i]vedeti* [ayam *puyatojā*, *aradhitu*, *lochayaya*, [a] *lochitpa*].

(b) With *payā* *hāpasi* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *ju* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *payā* in *anapayami*. With this agrees the Prakrit *ānavati*, while Pāli has *ānāpeti* with long *ā*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpayā* *likhāpayām*, *sukhāpayām* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *likhāpita*, *hānāpita*, *vā.āpaka*. In *likhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guna, while in *likhāpayasam* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* *ropāpita*

(1) Moods

(a) Indicative

Active

1 sing. *pasakā amāmi*, *karomi*, *anapayāmi*

3 sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahānāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chlanati*, *puyayati*, *śadhayati*

3 plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2) *prapnamti* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

Middle

3 sing. *pari(vā)k[a]māte*, *mamānate* or *mānate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karoti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *karute*.

3 plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karomte*. The termination is *-ti* in *ann[ā]tati* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatsati*, in the two passives *anuvadhayati* and *ārabhate*, and in the future passive *arabhasate*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Pāli, and Pāli, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 478.

(b) Subjunctive

Active

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachchyaṃ* and the imperative *ārādhayantu*.

3. sing. *mamāte* (XIII, 11) from *mamānate*. Cf. *patyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative

Active.

1 sing. *gachchyaṃ*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhava*, *īsteya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-yya*.

1 plur. *dīpayema*.

3 plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*), *vaseju*.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 564.

Middle.

3. sing. *pathapajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129

3. plur. *susuṃsēra* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṇi* = Skt. *-raṇi*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *pativedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prakṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yuyamtu, ārādhayamtu, [n]iyātu* (with *-tu* for *-mtu*), *śrīvānū* (XII, 7) from **śrīvānti* = Skt. *śrīvānti*. With the termination *-ntu* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *śusuṃsēra*, and the imperative *anuvātaram*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvādhiyātū* (passive) and *śrīvāsātā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvātaraṇi* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vedic imperative *duhān*. The middle termination *-raṇi* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-nām*, as the active termination *-ntu* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-nti*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-raṇi* agrees with Gīṣṇār and Pāli.

(c) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*, see Johansson, *Shāhā*, § 30, last section.

II AORIST.

3. plur. act. *āyāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuh* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *ni*, cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahūisu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsimsu* on *āsī* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabhitsu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhāre* (I, 11) = Skt. *ārabhanti*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*.

III. PRESENT.

3. sing. act. *aha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *lakhāpayasāu* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prakṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āṇāpayasati, vadhayasati, kṛpēyati, kāsati* (= Pāli *lāhatsi*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*prā*]*vadhayisanti, anuvāsisanti, kāsanti* and *kāsa[n]* from root *kāsi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvāsisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhāre* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*, cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhitsu*, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīṣṇār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ārabhāre* and *anuvādhiyāt*.

3. plur. indicative *ārabhāre*, *anuvādhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabhāre*, *anuvādhiyare*, see above, p. lxv.

3. sing. imperative *anuvādhiyātū*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhitsu*.

3. plur. future *ārabhāre*.

VI DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susuṃsēra* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susuṃsātā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśīṣhāt*.

VII. PARTICIPLES

(1) Present participle.

Active

Root *sthā*. nom plur masc. *tistānto*.

Root *as* nom sing. masc. *sanito*

Root *kṛ*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṃ*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*. *bhujy[a]māna*.

(2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta*. *mata* (= Skt *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛta*, XIII, 1), *kṛta* (= *kṛta*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛta*), *vistata* (= *vistṛta*), *uvata* (= *utṛta*), *nisṛta* (= **nṛta*) *stata* (= *sthita*), *atīkṛta* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkranta*), *vṛta* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *samkṛta* (= *samkṣipta*), *lābha* (= *lābha*), *ānāpta*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *vinita* (VI, 4) are used as substantives

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasanna*

(3) Future passive participle

(a) In *-tarya*. *katarya* (= Skt *kartarya*), *vātarya* (= *vaktarya*), *prapūhātarya* (from **pūhati* = Pāli *pūhāti*), *evadātarya* (from Pāli *evadati*), *vijātarya* (from *vij*), *puṇjāya* (= *puṇyātarya*), *loketarya* (= *loketayarya*), *puṣṭi* *vedita* [v]ya.

(b) In *-ya* *kacha* (= Skt *kṛtya*, IX, 8), *akā* (= *akya*)

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative *ārādhetu* (= Skt *ārādhayitum*)

(b) Dative *ikhamitave* from root *kṣham*, cf. Vedic forms like *ikhamāve*, and *gantāve* &c in Pāli

IX. ABSOLUTE FORMS.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt *-tvā*) *ārābhṭpā*, *paricahyṭpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayṭpā* (from causative of *dris*), *[a]-lochṭpā* (= *a-lochayitvā*)

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sachhāya* from *sam-kṣā* (= *sam-khya*)

F. SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛt* suffixes.

(a) *-anā* *samītranā* from Skt *trayati*.

(b) *-ti*. *nyhāt* = **nidhyapti*, *anusasti* = Skt *anusasti* (Bohtlingk's *Wörterbuch* 5, 991), while Pāli *anuvatti* agrees with Skt *anvāsati*

(c) *-ni* *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *ha* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*

The first member of the compound *vachigutti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31, 230) thinks, but must be connected with Aitihimāyadhī *vai* or *vai* = **vachi*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes

(a) *-ka*. *ājūka* (from *rayu*, see Text, p 5, n 2), and often pleonastic *etaka*, *[ā].atā[k]* *tāvataka*, *saravakā*, *ūātika*

(b) *-laka* *mahālaka* (from Skt *mahat*) = Pāli *mahālaya* and *mahallāya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp 402, 404)

(c) *-ika* *śloka* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12)

(d) *-iya*. *śloacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6) The first component of *śloacha* and *śloka* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt *itara*, *itas*, and *ika* (for *ilka*) are derived, see Franke in GN, 1895, 515

(e) *-ara*, added to participles and substantives *badhatarau*, *kata-yatarau*, *kammatarau* from Skt. *karman*

(f) *-vana* *tadāpano(ne)*, see Text, p 18, n 8

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātam antaram*, 'in times past' (IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi vīṣaḥ*-*satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *panchastu panchastu vāsan*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *varṣe kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(u)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4 — *so t[ā]thā kaṇu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3 — *bhūmy[ā]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhāvati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛta*, II, 4), *sadhu-matā* (I, 61), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3 sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7, XIII, 5) cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *etā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantiya*, cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leipzig, 1886, p. 234, n. 2). For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A — PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *caḍhiyati* (= *caḍhiyati*), *caḍhiyati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,¹ *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uḥa-nuha*. In *gih[ī]ṭha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udopāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *likkayadada* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name *Ἀλέξανδρος* from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *andara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *hata* or *hetā* (= **tita*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*, see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *hedisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *idisa*.²

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*, cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *munisa* (i.e. *manushya*) at Shāhbazarī and Mānselā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.³ In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ī* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]ṇanya* (= Skt. *āṇanya*), *[u]ḥata*, *kata*, *dukata*,⁴ *gahatha* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhata*, *bhata*,⁵ *bhataka*, *mati*, *vataṇ* (= *vritam*, X, 27), *vadhi* and *vadhi* (= *vuddhi*), *vithata*, *svāpata*,⁶ *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tādiva*, *[ā]ḍiva* (= *yādiva*), *kittama* (= *kittamā*) (= *kittayātā*), *gih[ī]ṭha*, *diḥha*, *paṇṭitika* (= **pranapṭika*), *pitisa*, *bhatana*, *uṇge*, *uṇgeyā*, *u* in *uskuta*,⁷ *shuṇ* [y]n,⁸ and after a labial in *a*[gobhu]ḍ[ī], *palipukha*, *u*[v]ṛti (= *nivṛti*), *vutām* (= *vritam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vuddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ī* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *hedisa* = Skt. *idisa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *lu*[kha] (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vri* of Skt. *vikṣa*, cf. Greek *λέκος* = Skt. *vikṣa*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

¹ The same form occurs in Pāli, see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has *edisa* and *evisa*, Prākṛit *idisa* and *evisa*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadhī *puṣa* = Skt. *puṣha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *vikata* (for *vikṛita*), *utkata*, *samkata*.

⁵ This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udopāna*.

⁷ Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *maḥha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prakṛit *rukha* from Skt *rukṣa* (Kie. 18a VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*Vllth Oriental Congress, Asian Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *ai[che]* (perhaps = Skt *nichaiḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-ai*, the second becomes *o* in *opotā* (XIII 15). *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokikya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ra]*

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyika]* (= Skt *atyaikam*), *nyāma* (= *ndyama*) *lati* (= *lati* VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchā:ucha-* (VII 21), *kitana-* (= *kitajna* VII, 22), *v[ai]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śāla-* or *ś[ai]la-* (= *śara*), *śāra-* (= *śarā*, XII, 31), *vamana-* (= *framana*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words, e.g. *aja* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atna* and *yatra*), *anātā* (= *anyatra*), *avā* (= *vasya*), *āhā*, *eva* or *va* *chā*, *janava*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānānā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhāmittha* *Piyadasiya*, *mama*, *kala* (= *tha*), *hata* (= *itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *asadhin[i]* (I, 7), *Pi[ra]dasi* (I, 2), *v[ai]asa* (IV, 12), *[chā]* (I, 4), *majj[ā]* (I, 4) *lay[ā]* (I, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases the defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous:

(1) At the beginning *akāla(h)na*, *anam[ra]* (I, 10a), *[a]namyam*, *apāhanta*, *ayatra*, *alam bhuyas*, *alabhi[ra]* (I, 10b), *alābhi[ra]* (I, 10c), *as[āha]* (I, 10d), *aba* (= Skt *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words *adivha* (= *pādrām*, XI, 29) *anathava* (= *anathava* at Dhauli *apavaha* (= Skt. *apavāha*), *ava* (= *vāvat*, IX, 23) *av[ra]* (I, 10e), *kala* (VI, 17), *Piyadasiya* (X 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokikya* (= *palalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jambhala) *pasada* (= Skt *pāshanda* XII, 31), *badham* (XII 32), *madhuliyare*, *laya*, *layam*, *layna*, *ayna*, *ayna*, *v[ai]dh[ra]* (I, 10f), *vamana*, *vavapata* (V, 15), *vavdh[ra]* (I, 10g) *shat[ra]* (I, 10h).

(3) At the end *a* (= Skt *a*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyatha*), *abaka* (= *ambaka*), *[ra]* (I, 10i), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha phala* (XIII, 14), *māta-patya* (III, 8), *laya* (IV, 11), *va* (twice) *va* *h[ra]* (I, 10j).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *halam* (for *ahalam* = *aham*), *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) also in *kviti* (only XII, 34) and *kiti*, *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *va*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *eva* are also employed.¹

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

The Kālī dialect agrees with the Megadha one in replacing the semivowel *i* by *h*, and the two nasals *n* and *ṇ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kalyāṇa* (= Skt *Kalyāṇa*), and the former in *[u]k[ra]i[ra]* (I, 34) *Ahikashudala* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ka* of *akāhik[ra]*, *ahik[ra]* and *ahik[ra]* *nāhik[ra]*, *panāhik[ra]*, *pāhik[ra]*, *Pitāhik[ra]* (I, 10k), *bh[ra]* (I, 10l), *sh[ra]* (I, 10m), *so* (I, 10n), *so* (I, 10o), *so* (I, 10p), *so* (I, 10q), *so* (I, 10r), *so* (I, 10s), *so* (I, 10t), *so* (I, 10u), *so* (I, 10v), *so* (I, 10w), *so* (I, 10x), *so* (I, 10y), *so* (I, 10z), *so* (I, 10aa), *so* (I, 10ab), *so* (I, 10ac), *so* (I, 10ad), *so* (I, 10ae), *so* (I, 10af), *so* (I, 10ag), *so* (I, 10ah), *so* (I, 10ai), *so* (I, 10aj), *so* (I, 10ak), *so* (I, 10al), *so* (I, 10am), *so* (I, 10an), *so* (I, 10ao), *so* (I, 10ap), *so* (I, 10aq), *so* (I, 10ar), *so* (I, 10as), *so* (I, 10at), *so* (I, 10au), *so* (I, 10av), *so* (I, 10aw), *so* (I, 10ax), *so* (I, 10ay), *so* (I, 10az), *so* (I, 10ba), *so* (I, 10bb), *so* (I, 10bc), *so* (I, 10bd), *so* (I, 10be), *so* (I, 10bf), *so* (I, 10bg), *so* (I, 10bh), *so* (I, 10bi), *so* (I, 10bj), *so* (I, 10bk), *so* (I, 10bl), *so* (I, 10bm), *so* (I, 10bn), *so* (I, 10bo), *so* (I, 10bp), *so* (I, 10bq), *so* (I, 10br), *so* (I, 10bs), *so* (I, 10bt), *so* (I, 10bu), *so* (I, 10bv), *so* (I, 10bw), *so* (I, 10bx), *so* (I, 10by), *so* (I, 10bz), *so* (I, 10ca), *so* (I, 10cb), *so* (I, 10cc), *so* (I, 10cd), *so* (I, 10ce), *so* (I, 10cf), *so* (I, 10cg), *so* (I, 10ch), *so* (I, 10ci), *so* (I, 10cj), *so* (I, 10ck), *so* (I, 10cl), *so* (I, 10cm), *so* (I, 10cn), *so* (I, 10co), *so* (I, 10cp), *so* (I, 10cq), *so* (I, 10cr), *so* (I, 10cs), *so* (I, 10ct), *so* (I, 10cu), *so* (I, 10cv), *so* (I, 10cw), *so* (I, 10cx), *so* (I, 10cy), *so* (I, 10cz), *so* (I, 10da), *so* (I, 10db), *so* (I, 10dc), *so* (I, 10dd), *so* (I, 10de), *so* (I, 10df), *so* (I, 10dg), *so* (I, 10dh), *so* (I, 10di), *so* (I, 10dj), *so* (I, 10dk), *so* (I, 10dl), *so* (I, 10dm), *so* (I, 10dn), *so* (I, 10do), *so* (I, 10dp), *so* (I, 10dq), *so* (I, 10dr), *so* (I, 10ds), *so* (I, 10dt), *so* (I, 10du), *so* (I, 10dv), *so* (I, 10dw), *so* (I, 10dx), *so* (I, 10dy), *so* (I, 10dz), *so* (I, 10ea), *so* (I, 10eb), *so* (I, 10ec), *so* (I, 10ed), *so* (I, 10ee), *so* (I, 10ef), *so* (I, 10eg), *so* (I, 10eh), *so* (I, 10ei), *so* (I, 10ej), *so* (I, 10ek), *so* (I, 10el), *so* (I, 10em), *so* (I, 10en), *so* (I, 10eo), *so* (I, 10ep), *so* (I, 10eq), *so* (I, 10er), *so* (I, 10es), *so* (I, 10et), *so* (I, 10eu), *so* (I, 10ev), *so* (I, 10ew), *so* (I, 10ex), *so* (I, 10ey), *so* (I, 10ez), *so* (I, 10fa), *so* (I, 10fb), *so* (I, 10fc), *so* (I, 10fd), *so* (I, 10fe), *so* (I, 10ff), *so* (I, 10fg), *so* (I, 10fh), *so* (I, 10fi), *so* (I, 10fj), *so* (I, 10fk), *so* (I, 10fl), *so* (I, 10fm), *so* (I, 10fn), *so* (I, 10fo), *so* (I, 10fp), *so* (I, 10fq), *so* (I, 10fr), *so* (I, 10fs), *so* (I, 10ft), *so* (I, 10fu), *so* (I, 10fv), *so* (I, 10fw), *so* (I, 10fx), *so* (I, 10fy), *so* (I, 10fz), *so* (I, 10ga), *so* (I, 10gb), *so* (I, 10gc), *so* (I, 10gd), *so* (I, 10ge), *so* (I, 10gf), *so* (I, 10gg), *so* (I, 10gh), *so* (I, 10gi), *so* (I, 10gj), *so* (I, 10gk), *so* (I, 10gl), *so* (I, 10gm), *so* (I, 10gn), *so* (I, 10go), *so* (I, 10gp), *so* (I, 10gq), *so* (I, 10gr), *so* (I, 10gs), *so* (I, 10gt), *so* (I, 10gu), *so* (I, 10gv), *so* (I, 10gw), *so* (I, 10gx), *so* (I, 10gy), *so* (I, 10gz), *so* (I, 10ha), *so* (I, 10hb), *so* (I, 10hc), *so* (I, 10hd), *so* (I, 10he), *so* (I, 10hf), *so* (I, 10hg), *so* (I, 10hh), *so* (I, 10hi), *so* (I, 10hj), *so* (I, 10hk), *so* (I, 10hl), *so* (I, 10hm), *so* (I, 10hn), *so* (I, 10ho), *so* (I, 10hp), *so* (I, 10hq), *so* (I, 10hr), *so* (I, 10hs), *so* (I, 10ht), *so* (I, 10hu), *so* (I, 10hv), *so* (I, 10hw), *so* (I, 10hx), *so* (I, 10hy), *so* (I, 10hz), *so* (I, 10ia), *so* (I, 10ib), *so* (I, 10ic), *so* (I, 10id), *so* (I, 10ie), *so* (I, 10if), *so* (I, 10ig), *so* (I, 10ih), *so* (I, 10ii), *so* (I, 10ij), *so* (I, 10ik), *so* (I, 10il), *so* (I, 10im), *so* (I, 10in), *so* (I, 10io), *so* (I, 10ip), *so* (I, 10iq), *so* (I, 10ir), *so* (I, 10is), *so* (I, 10it), *so* (I, 10iu), *so* (I, 10iv), *so* (I, 10iw), *so* (I, 10ix), *so* (I, 10iy), *so* (I, 10iz), *so* (I, 10ja), *so* (I, 10jb), *so* (I, 10jc), *so* (I, 10jd), *so* (I, 10je), *so* (I, 10jf), *so* (I, 10jg), *so* (I, 10jh), *so* (I, 10ji), *so* (I, 10jj), *so* (I, 10jk), *so* (I, 10jl), *so* (I, 10jm), *so* (I, 10jn), *so* (I, 10jo), *so* (I, 10jp), *so* (I, 10jq), *so* (I, 10jr), *so* (I, 10js), *so* (I, 10jt), *so* (I, 10ju), *so* (I, 10jv), *so* (I, 10jw), *so* (I, 10jx), *so* (I, 10jy), *so* (I, 10jz), *so* (I, 10ka), *so* (I, 10kb), *so* (I, 10kc), *so* (I, 10kd), *so* (I, 10ke), *so* (I, 10kf), *so* (I, 10kg), *so* (I, 10kh), *so* (I, 10ki), *so* (I, 10kj), *so* (I, 10kk), *so* (I, 10kl), *so* (I, 10km), *so* (I, 10kn), *so* (I, 10ko), *so* (I, 10kp), *so* (I, 10kq), *so* (I, 10kr), *so* (I, 10ks), *so* (I, 10kt), *so* (I, 10ku), *so* (I, 10kv), *so* (I, 10kw), *so* (I, 10kx), *so* (I, 10ky), *so* (I, 10kz), *so* (I, 10la), *so* (I, 10lb), *so* (I, 10lc), *so* (I, 10ld), *so* (I, 10le), *so* (I, 10lf), *so* (I, 10lg), *so* (I, 10lh), *so* (I, 10li), *so* (I, 10lj), *so* (I, 10lk), *so* (I, 10ll), *so* (I, 10lm), *so* (I, 10ln), *so* (I, 10lo), *so* (I, 10lp), *so* (I, 10lq), *so* (I, 10lr), *so* (I, 10ls), *so* (I, 10lt), *so* (I, 10lu), *so* (I, 10lv), *so* (I, 10lw), *so* (I, 10lx), *so* (I, 10ly), *so* (I, 10lz), *so* (I, 10ma), *so* (I, 10mb), *so* (I, 10mc), *so* (I, 10md), *so* (I, 10me), *so* (I, 10mf), *so* (I, 10mg), *so* (I, 10mh), *so* (I, 10mi), *so* (I, 10mj), *so* (I, 10mk), *so* (I, 10ml), *so* (I, 10mm), *so* (I, 10mn), *so* (I, 10mo), *so* (I, 10mp), *so* (I, 10mq), *so* (I, 10mr), *so* (I, 10ms), *so* (I, 10mt), *so* (I, 10mu), *so* (I, 10mv), *so* (I, 10mw), *so* (I, 10mx), *so* (I, 10my), *so* (I, 10mz), *so* (I, 10na), *so* (I, 10nb), *so* (I, 10nc), *so* (I, 10nd), *so* (I, 10ne), *so* (I, 10nf), *so* (I, 10ng), *so* (I, 10nh), *so* (I, 10ni), *so* (I, 10nj), *so* (I, 10nk), *so* (I, 10nl), *so* (I, 10nm), *so* (I, 10nn), *so* (I, 10no), *so* (I, 10np), *so* (I, 10nq), *so* (I, 10nr), *so* (I, 10ns), *so* (I, 10nt), *so* (I, 10nu), *so* (I, 10nv), *so* (I, 10nw), *so* (I, 10nx), *so* (I, 10ny), *so* (I, 10nz), *so* (I, 10oa), *so* (I, 10ob), *so* (I, 10oc), *so* (I, 10od), *so* (I, 10oe), *so* (I, 10of), *so* (I, 10og), *so* (I, 10oh), *so* (I, 10oi), *so* (I, 10oj), *so* (I, 10ok), *so* (I, 10ol), *so* (I, 10om), *so* (I, 10on), *so* (I, 10oo), *so* (I, 10op), *so* (I, 10oq), *so* (I, 10or), *so* (I, 10os), *so* (I, 10ot), *so* (I, 10ou), *so* (I, 10ov), *so* (I, 10ow), *so* (I, 10ox), *so* (I, 10oy), *so* (I, 10oz), *so* (I, 10pa), *so* (I, 10pb), *so* (I, 10pc), *so* (I, 10pd), *so* (I, 10pe), *so* (I, 10pf), *so* (I, 10pg), *so* (I, 10ph), *so* (I, 10pi), *so* (I, 10pj), *so* (I, 10pk), *so* (I, 10pl), *so* (I, 10pm), *so* (I, 10pn), *so* (I, 10po), *so* (I, 10pp), *so* (I, 10pq), *so* (I, 10pr), *so* (I, 10ps), *so* (I, 10pt), *so* (I, 10pu), *so* (I, 10pv), *so* (I, 10pw), *so* (I, 10px), *so* (I, 10py), *so* (I, 10pz), *so* (I, 10qa), *so* (I, 10qb), *so* (I, 10qc), *so* (I, 10qd), *so* (I, 10qe), *so* (I, 10qf), *so* (I, 10qg), *so* (I, 10qh), *so* (I, 10qi), *so* (I, 10qj), *so* (I, 10qk), *so* (I, 10ql), *so* (I, 10qm), *so* (I, 10qn), *so* (I, 10qo), *so* (I, 10qp), *so* (I, 10qq), *so* (I, 10qr), *so* (I, 10qs), *so* (I, 10qt), *so* (I, 10qu), *so* (I, 10qv), *so* (I, 10qw), *so* (I, 10qx), *so* (I, 10qy), *so* (I, 10qz), *so* (I, 10ra), *so* (I, 10rb), *so* (I, 10rc), *so* (I, 10rd), *so* (I, 10re), *so* (I, 10rf), *so* (I, 10rg), *so* (I, 10rh), *so* (I, 10ri), *so* (I, 10rj), *so* (I, 10rk), *so* (I, 10rl), *so* (I, 10rm), *so* (I, 10rn), *so* (I, 10ro), *so* (I, 10rp), *so* (I, 10rq), *so* (I, 10rr), *so* (I, 10rs), *so* (I, 10rt), *so* (I, 10ru), *so* (I, 10rv), *so* (I, 10rw), *so* (I, 10rx), *so* (I, 10ry), *so* (I, 10rz), *so* (I, 10sa), *so* (I, 10sb), *so* (I, 10sc), *so* (I, 10sd), *so* (I, 10se), *so* (I, 10sf), *so* (I, 10sg), *so* (I, 10sh), *so* (I, 10si), *so* (I, 10sj), *so* (I, 10sk), *so* (I, 10sl), *so* (I, 10sm), *so* (I, 10sn), *so* (I, 10so), *so* (I, 10sp), *so* (I, 10sq), *so* (I, 10sr), *so* (I, 10ss), *so* (I, 10st), *so* (I, 10su), *so* (I, 10sv), *so* (I, 10sw), *so* (I, 10sx), *so* (I, 10sy), *so* (I, 10sz), *so* (I, 10ta), *so* (I, 10tb), *so* (I, 10tc), *so* (I, 10td), *so* (I, 10te), *so* (I, 10tf), *so* (I, 10tg), *so* (I, 10th), *so* (I, 10ti), *so* (I, 10tj), *so* (I, 10tk), *so* (I, 10tl), *so* (I, 10tm), *so* (I, 10tn), *so* (I, 10to), *so* (I, 10tp), *so* (I, 10tq), *so* (I, 10tr), *so* (I, 10ts), *so* (I, 10tt), *so* (I, 10tu), *so* (I, 10tv), *so* (I, 10tw), *so* (I, 10tx), *so* (I, 10ty), *so* (I, 10tz), *so* (I, 10ua), *so* (I, 10ub), *so* (I, 10uc), *so* (I, 10ud), *so* (I, 10ue), *so* (I, 10uf), *so* (I, 10ug), *so* (I, 10uh), *so* (I, 10ui), *so* (I, 10uj), *so* (I, 10uk), *so* (I, 10ul), *so* (I, 10um), *so* (I, 10un), *so* (I, 10uo), *so* (I, 10up), *so* (I, 10uq), *so* (I, 10ur), *so* (I, 10us), *so* (I, 10ut), *so* (I, 10uu), *so* (I, 10uv), *so* (I, 10uw), *so* (I, 10ux), *so* (I, 10uy), *so* (I, 10uz), *so* (I, 10va), *so* (I, 10vb), *so* (I, 10vc), *so* (I, 10vd), *so* (I, 10ve), *so* (I, 10vf), *so* (I, 10vg), *so* (I, 10vh), *so* (I, 10vi), *so* (I, 10vj), *so* (I, 10vk), *so* (I, 10vl), *so* (I, 10vm), *so* (I, 10vn), *so* (I, 10vo), *so* (I, 10vp), *so* (I, 10vq), *so* (I, 10vr), *so* (I, 10vs), *so* (I, 10vt), *so* (I, 10vu), *so* (I, 10vv), *so* (I, 10vw), *so* (I, 10vx), *so* (I, 10vy), *so* (I, 10vz), *so* (I, 10wa), *so* (I, 10wb), *so* (I, 10wc), *so* (I, 10wd), *so* (I, 10we), *so* (I, 10wf), *so* (I, 10wg), *so* (I, 10wh), *so* (I, 10wi), *so* (I, 10wj), *so* (I, 10wk), *so* (I, 10wl), *so* (I, 10wm), *so* (I, 10wn), *so* (I, 10wo), *so* (I, 10wp), *so* (I, 10wq), *so* (I, 10wr), *so* (I, 10ws), *so* (I, 10wt), *so* (I, 10wu), *so* (I, 10wv), *so* (I, 10ww), *so* (I, 10wx), *so* (I, 10wy), *so* (I, 10wz), *so* (I, 10xa), *so* (I, 10xb), *so* (I, 10xc), *so* (I, 10xd), *so* (I, 10xe), *so* (I, 10xf), *so* (I, 10xg), *so* (I, 10xh), *so* (I, 10xi), *so* (I, 10xj), *so* (I, 10xk), *so* (I, 10xl), *so* (I, 10xm), *so* (I, 10xn), *so* (I, 10xo), *so* (I, 10xp), *so* (I, 10xq), *so* (I, 10xr), *so* (I, 10xs), *so* (I, 10xt), *so* (I, 10xu), *so* (I, 10xv), *so* (I, 10xw), *so* (I, 10xx), *so* (I, 10xy), *so* (I, 10xz), *so* (I, 10ya), *so* (I, 10yb), *so* (I, 10yc), *so* (I, 10yd), *so* (I, 10ye), *so* (I, 10yf), *so* (I, 10yg), *so*

dialect, like the Girmār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opai[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kalgya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālāi, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opaga*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Aññh[ne]* and *Blakā*, and *χ* by *ç* in *Amityoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *çh* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kṛṣha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kud+chud*). In *vacha* (VI, 18, XII, 34) *çh* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palututulu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [13], the aorist *parucchadi*. E. Muller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25, Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvādasa*, before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shata* and *ushuta*, *kata*, *dukata*, *kītanā[ā]*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *matr*, *vuthata*, *vyāpata*; after *ra* in the preposition *pati* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chithu[n]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prakṛit *chithhadi*¹ (= Skt. *trishthanti*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *kuda-sukkhāye* (V, 15).² In *katopa[yā]* (= *īadopayā* at Girmār and Dhauli) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*), cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 194. In *huda* (= *idha* at Girmār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*, but Johanson (*Shāhā*, § 57) may be right in connecting *huda* with Vedic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hote*, *hotu*, *aho*, *hoveyu*, *huse*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majulu* (= Skt. *majura*, I, 4), *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vay[iv]* (= *vivrah*, VII, 21), *h* in *yu[hū]* (VI, 20).³ Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *avā* (= *vayva*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yā*, *afā*) (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]dasa* (= *yādasa*), *āva* (= *yavat*), *avut[ā]ke* (XIII, 39). In *apovudhe* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ā*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palutiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[ī]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Girmār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *[a]dasa* (= **trayadāsa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *daseyatu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *puysi*, *puysat[iv]*, &c.), in *vadhayati* and *vadhayati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 1 sing. optative *nevah[ā]* (= Skt. *nivartayī*) the *e* corresponds to an original *ay*.⁴ For *avi* we have *o* in *oladhana*, *hote*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *huda* (= Skt. *idha*), *heḍisa* (= *idṛisa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevam*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamhu* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johanson (*Shāhā*, I, 66) derives it from Pāli *yamhu* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, *a*) through the intermediate form **amhu*, while Senart (IA, 21, 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālāi dialect agrees with the Girmār one in replacing the two sibilants *s* and *sh* by *ç*. From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ç* and *sh*. In a few cases, *çh* is used where Sanskrit would require it, see *çhi*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshanda*, *manu[shānā]m*, *tesham*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antīshu*), *Kambojeshu*, *Kālī[ñ]geshu*, *natikeshu*, *Nabhapamitishu*, *Pitunij[ç]shu*, *pitishu*, *[o]neshu*, *ladhusha[shu]*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *s* are phonetically and etymologically impossible, see e.g. *tava* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tava*), *dāsa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *saṁthuta* and *saṁthuta* (= *saṁstuta*), *[a]va* and *shava* (= *sava*), *śālī* and *sh[ā]la* (= *sāra*), *syātī* and *shyātī* (= *vyat*), *[ç]e* and *sh*, *shuk[ç]a* and *shusha* (= *sakasi*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *s* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.⁵ In other words, the letters *s* and *sh* at Kālāi are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *s* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Girmār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened, see *[a]mya* or *shamyā* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

¹ Cf. Singhalese *sittu* or *hitu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 9 f.

² Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

³ For similar forms of the 1 sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But *s* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vata* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadasi*).

⁶ Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 37, and Buhler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *puṇā* (= *punar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avam* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ā* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *a* is shortened in a few cases, see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt *naṭṭāntā*), *lājine* (gen. sing.¹ *lājāni* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *nah*), *se* (= *sah*), *ve* or *e*, *amne*, etc.; *[p]ah* (= *Pāh pure* Skt *purah*), *[m]u[khā][r]*, *vijayānā[r]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Guṇīr, in *Satyaṇṇapute*, *Ki[dala][pūto, janī][yo]*, *lā[y]ano, yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*, *ā* in *Maṣā*, *a* in *vadhā* (XIII, 36), *kudalokikya* (XIII, 17), *esk[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]* (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals, e.g. *dharmam*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *santam* and *kālamtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted, see *kalo[uta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kālamtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anantam*, *adishī* (= Skt *yadīyam*, XI, 29), *pāshanda*, *pāshada*, and *pāśada*, *bādhi* (XIII, 36), *mada*, *u* (= *mādatam*, XIII, 4), *vyaj[ā]* and *vijayatvaya* (XIII, 16), *[thu]va* (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *hu*, *va* (= *ivam*, XII, 32), and the accusative feminine *-anusā[th]* (XIII, 12), *tiṭi*, *khamti*, *vadhā*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *himi*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened, see *[ā]tisā* (= Skt *yadīyam*, IV, 10), *kam-[ma]talā* (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudāram*, IX, 24), *dosa* (I, 2), *nilathirā* (IV, 24), *pāsada* (XII, 32), *puṇā* (thrice = *punyam*), *bahuk[a]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *maha-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*, see *te*, *the*, *es*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *amne*, *sare*, *shuv*, *i[ta]le*, *dām*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dane* (XII, 31), *bādhatile* (XII, 31), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *du*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *a* is generally shortened, e.g. *pānānam*, *tanam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāt[unam]* (IV, 10), *bhū[ti]na[m]* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped, see the genitives plural *[hu]mbha-nana* (XI, 29), *natmā* (IV, 9), *bh[agā]ni[nā]* (V, 16), *gulānā* (IX, 27), and the accusative singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-dumdatā* (XIII, 17), *divhā* (XIV, 23), *[ma]hathirā* (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *ma[hathirā]* (= Skt. *mahānithirāham*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time, see *paṇṇa* (= Skt *paṇṇavan*, V, 15), *pāsādāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]hushān[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]ani* (= *idāni*, I, 3).

III SANDHI

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in *tam eva*, *i[ā]nam eva*, *[v]am eva*, *pālamtiyam eva* (ev). Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *amant-anashā* (= Skt *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *blutam-ayatu* (V, 17).

a + a are contracted into *ā* in *etāyathaye* (XII, 34), *[katabhika]le*, *kucāpi* (= Skt *kūṇḍi*), *gubha-gāla*, *-vasābhista*, *dharmānusa[th]* (XIII, 12) or *dharmannushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dharmannusathi* (thrice), *dharmā[ay]* (XIII, 37), *[p]kalopālāna* (XIV, 13), and before an original group of consonants in *a[lu]ā* (twice = Skt *yatra yatra*), *apālamti* (= *apānantah*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *u mātra*, VIII, 23), *diyadha* (= **divkāndha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nasti*), *upathay[ā]* (= *vāpāthāya*, I, 3).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lāmbhe* (IV, 9) and *[ma]hathirā* (= Skt *mahānithirā* or *nitham* (V), X, 27).

ā + a becomes *a* before an original group in *[ma]hathā* (= *maha + atha*, X, 27).

ā + u becomes *o* in *paṇṇalam* (ye), on which see below, p. lxxv, n 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bambhan-ibhva* (V, 15), *ch eva*, *mumv-epagan* (II, 5),¹ and before *n* in *chu*,² but ³ which corresponds to *cho* (= *cha + n*) in Buddhist *gathas*.

i + a are contracted into *i* in *itthidhiyaku* (= *stry-adhiyaka*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-ophāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e yam* (V, 15), *ta[y th]ā[re]* (VI, 19), *itā[y]e thāye* (VI, 20).

¹ For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

² Michelson (IP, 23-261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *thu*.

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapundarikā* (SBP, vol. 21), Introduction, p.

IV GROUP OF CONSONANTS

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxii.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyiki]* (= *atyāyika*),¹ *anap[ā]yāmitu* (III, 8), *anusāthi* (= *anusāsti*), *asamatī* (= *asamāpṛti*), *ayesu* (= *āryeśhu*), *āladhe* (= **āāddham*), *gadhā* (= **gāddhā*), *tadātaye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamena*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvate*), *ma[ṣ]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *mudavu* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmāta* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayit* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *timni* (= *trini*, I, 9). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vadanaya*, *anuvadhyaṃa* (read **yaṃti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vdanayya*, *anuvadhyaṃti*, cf. above, p. lxx. Short *i* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panāthiya* (= **pranāthrika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālanthiya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.²

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikanṭam* (= *atkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tambapāṇi* (= *Tāmrapāṇi*), *Pandiya* (= *Pāndiyā*), *bambhana* (= *bāhmana*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhānda*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikyē* (= *samāyika*, IX, 26). In *[ā]bhānā* (XIII, 37), *Dvānāpīye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpānāta(t)*, *palakamāta*,³ *lochutu* (XIII, 17), *[pāti*]veditu* (VI, 18), the Anuvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anuvāra is omitted after a short vowel, see *Attyoge* (XIII 6), *atishu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*) *anubadh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambika*), *alabhi[yam]ti* (cf. the aorist *alambhiyati*, I, 3), *litkyashudali* (= *Λιτῆσσοδος*), *Kaligya* (= *Kalınca*), *paśada* and *pāshada* (= *pāshada*)⁴ *maṣala* (= *mangala*), *vikisā* (= *vāhisa*), *shambadh[e]* (= *sambandhak*), *shav[ri]bhuge* (= *samvibhāgik*), *sayama* and *sanyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *u* in *ga[la]huti* (= Skt. *garhāt*), *galahā*, *litkyashudali* (= *Λιτῆσσοδος*), *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvādaśa*, *putuva* (= *pūruva*), *suvaṃka pāpūnata(t)*, and frequently *i*, see *lājinā* (= *ājñā*), *lājine* (= *rajñah*) the future passive participles in *taviya* -*adhyaḥka* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānriya*), *apatyē*, *alabhi[yam]ti*, *[ṣ]katiyā*, *Pandiyā*, *pativasiya*, *mādhūiya* (= *mādhūya*), *vīyanyama*, *vīyāpata* (= *vīyāpṛta*), *[shamacha]itya* (= **sama-chariya*), *shamha* (= *samhak*), *syā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *itlu* (= *stri*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *ṣr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *ś* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṃti*, &c.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*

ksh becomes *kḥ* in -*adhyaḥka*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *kḥuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,⁵ *[lu]kha* (= *viksha*), *mokha*, *su(sam)kḥitu* (= *saukṣipta*), *ikh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kḥ* in *shumkhye* (read *saukhāya*)

khl becomes *kḥ* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2

gu becomes *g* in *agi*.

ju becomes *u* in *kītanatā* (= Skt. *kīrtanātā*), *nāti*, *ānapayit*, but *ju* in *lājinā* (= *rajna*) and *lājini* (= *rajnah*)

¹ *atīvāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *tr*.

² Cf. *vaṃka* = Skt. *vakra*, *vaṃka* = Skt. *vaṃka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxvii.

⁴ The form *pāshada* may be derived from Skt. *pāshada*, see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **vikshati*, which is preserved in *viksha*, *tāviksha*, &c.

- dy* becomes *diy* in *Paśīdyā*
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *hīlanna*, *punnā* (thrice = Skt. *punyam*), but *ny* in [a]naniya (= ānanyā)
tp becomes *p* in *paṇṇadān*(y)¹
tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).
ty becomes *ty* in *apātya*, *a[tiyāyik]*, [e]katiya, *ky* in *nīkram*
tv remains in *tadavāy* (X 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-va*, but *tv* is assimilated in *chatālī* (= Skt. *chatavāri*, XIII, 7)
ts becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisāh*, [u]kate[na] and *uskutina*
tsṭh becomes *th* in *uthāna*; cf. *ustāna* at Ginnai
dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipapjā*, *y* in [u]jānani, *nyāma*
dv becomes *d* in *diyadhā*, but *dv* in *dvu*, *dvāduva*
dhy becomes *jh* in *n[ti]jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhy* in *-adhiyakha*
dhr remains in *dhrive* (I 4), but it seems to be assimilated in [i]dha (= *Indhra* XIII, 10)
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *anna* and *ana*, *manna[ti]* and *manati*
pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[ti]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khātina* *natāh* (= Skt. *napātāh*), *panatikā*,
Tulamay (= *Πτολεμαίος*)
pn becomes *pnn* in *pāpunnā(t)*
bdk becomes *dh* in *ludha*
bhy becomes *b'* in *-ibhena*, but *bhy* in *alabhi[ti]*, *alambhry* *alābhi[ti]* *isa[m]ti*
my remains in *s[ti]myā-* or *shamiyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*)
mv becomes *mb* in *lamhapamui*
rg becomes *g* in *m[ti]g[ti]*, *svaganā*, *svaganu*
rn becomes *nn* in *lamhapamui*
rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *annvatauti*, [a]nnvata[ti] *nnvate*, *kataviya*, *annvatis* *m[ti]*
n[ti]va[ti], *nivah[ti]* *ā*
rth becomes *th* in *atha*, *th* in *atha* and *nīlathiyā*, above p i and n 4
rd becomes *d* in *mada[ti]* (= Skt. *mārdava*)
rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhiti*, *vadhivati*, *dh* i *vadhiti*, *vadhivati*, [pa][ti] *dhaviti* *dh[ti]*,
diyadhā
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhā[ti]*
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *kāmma* (= Skt. *kāman*), *dhamma* and *dhamā*
ry becomes *y* in *aryesu* (= Skt. *āryishu*), but *hy* in *anant[ti]* *ā[ti]* *ya* (= *anantarya*) *mudhivati*
(= *nādhivati*), [shamacha] *tiya* (= **sama-chaiya*)
rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[ti]yā*, but *lv* in *pulnva*
rs becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadasi* and *Piyadasi*)
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt [va]sha and *vaśu*).
rh becomes *lh* in *ga[ti]hāti* *galahā*
lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kupai*
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10), but it is assimilated in *paravati* (= Skt. *prasāvyati* IX, 27)
and it becomes *vy* in *viyaṇṇa*, *viyaṇṇam*, *viyaṇṇā*, *viyaṇṇā*, and in the affix *-taviya*
vr becomes *v* in *tiv*, *pat[ti]* *it[ti]*, *vachu* (VI, 18, XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*
sch becomes *chh* in [pa] *chhā*
sy becomes *sy* in *pativasiyā*
shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukata*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhama[ti]*, *nikhamsu*, *nikhama[ti]*, *nikhama[ti]*.
shk becomes *th* in *atha* (XIII, 35), *th* in *nikhama[ti]*
shth becomes *th* in *sethe*, *chithi[ti]*, *th* in *adithā[ti]*
shy becomes *t* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[ti]* *iyavati* and other futures
sk becomes *k* in *ag[ti]kandh[ti]*, while Ginnar has *ag[ti]kandh[ti]* (with *kh*)
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, [ha] *thini*, *santhita*, *vithatenā*, *annasath*:

¹ Dhali and Jaugadā read °dāye, Mānsehi °dāye, but Shabbhārgathi *paṇṇadane*, which ought correspond to Skt. *paṇṇadāne*. At Kāli the locative of *upādāna* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upāda* = Skt. **upād* see Buhler, *ZDMG*, 37: 431.

str becomes *th* in *sth* (= Skt. *strī*)

sth becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih[ī]thā*, *ch[ī]la-thutikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chula-thutikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *shn* in *shnehc*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[a]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*iy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *asa*

sv remains in *svogam* (VI, 20), but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,¹ and it becomes *svv* in *svvāmika* (IX, 25).

hm becomes *nbbh* in *bambhana*. The form *bāmbhana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bakmana* (= Skt. *brāhmana*) and **bambhana* (*bambhana* at Gīrnār, IX, 5)

B—DECLENSION

I BASES IN -a

(1) Masculines and neutrals in -a

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>jant</i> , &c ; neut <i>dānē</i> , &c	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c ; neut <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc <i>dhamman</i> , &c ; neut <i>dānam</i> , &c	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut <i>di-yāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> .
Inst <i>dāma</i> or <i>dāmaṇā</i> , &c.	[<i>sa</i>]u ^h .
Dat <i>athay</i> , &c.	<i>mahāma[ī]h</i>
Abi <i>anubaddhā</i> , [<i>pu</i>]chhā.	
Gen <i>jana[va]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc <i>dhammav</i> , &c	<i>vasvū</i> , &c.

Nom, sing masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātyaputo* and *Ki[la]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidatokikyā*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*lakā*, XIII, 7)

Nom sing neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am* (*anantam*, IX, 26, 27, *anusāsanaṁ* and *kāṁ[am]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*a*]disā (IV, 10), *kāṁ[ma]lā* (VI, 20), *puna* (thrice = Skt. *punyam*)

Acc sing masc.—The Anuvāra is omitted in *-pātada* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshada* and *-pāshanda* (XII, 33), [*shayam*] (XIII, 4), *vjay[a]* and *vjayatavīya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-am* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāsada* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dova* (I, 2).

Acc sing neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4), *-ā* in *maka-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathirī* (IX, 24). *-e* in *dāni* (XII, 31) and *bādhatali* (XII, 32).

Nom plur masc.—The final *-ā* is shortened in [*uā*]tikya (XIII, 38), *pātānda* (XIII, 37), *pashanda* (XII, 34), [*pāva*]nda (VII, 21), *-pulva* (V, 14), *puyatav[ī]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom plur neut.—In *halapitā chā lopāpita chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vrishā* is used as neuter [*h*]khāni (II, 6)*

The remaining instances of the acc plur masc in *-āni* are *-kandh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kahgyāni* (XIII, 36), *pāsham[dān]*, *pur[a]jitā[u]*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc plur neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *rimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen plur.—The Anuvāra is omitted in *-pātadāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-a* in [*bu*]mbhanānā (XI, 29).

(2) Females in -ā

Singular

Nom *ukhā*, &c

Acc *puyā*, &c

Inst *puy[ā]ye*

Gen or loc *sāntā[a]nāye*

Nom sing.—In *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *-ā* is shortened

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

² Cf. *ruchhāni* at Māns. hrā, II, 8

Acc. sing.—In [-*yātam*] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -*ām* seems to be preserved, and the *ā* to be shortened before it

Instr. sing.—In *ivindh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate *ā* seems to be shortened.

II BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom sing neut	<i>avamati</i>
Nom plur neut	<i>osadhī[ṛ]</i> , ¹ <i>ṭini</i> , <i>ṭimni</i>
Gen plur	<i>nāti[ṇam]</i> <i>nātinā</i>
Loc. plur.	<i>Nābhapaṇṭiṣku</i>

(2) Feminines in -i and ī

Singular.	Plural
Nom <i>hpi</i> , &c	<i>juni</i> | <i>jv</i> | -
Acc <i>Sambodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr <i>bhatiyā</i> , - <i>annasathiyē</i> .	
Dat. - <i>annasathiyā vadhīyā</i>	
Abi <i>ni</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>u</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>Tambapaṇṇiyā</i>	
Gen	<i>bh[ug]</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>na</i> |
Loc <i>ayatiye</i>	

III BASES IN -u

The nom sing *sādhu* or *śādhu* is the same in all three genders

Nom and acc sing neut	<i>bahu</i> .
Nom and acc plur neut	<i>bahuni</i>
Instr plur	<i>bā[h]</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>hi</i> |
Gen plur	<i>gulinā</i>

IV MASCULINES IN -ri

Nom. plur	<i>nātāle</i> (= Skt <i>naptarak</i>)
Gen plur	<i>bhā[ṭṭa]</i> | <i>m</i> | (= <i>bhāṭṭinām</i>)
Loc plur	<i>pitṭu</i> or <i>pitṭiṣu</i> (= <i>pitṭiṣku</i>)

The instr sing follows the *i*-declension *pitṭu*, *bhūṭinā*

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in -at

The nom sing masc. has a very curious form, it affixes the termination -*av* which is evidently derived from Skt -*an*, to the strong form of the base *santam* from root *as* *kalantam* (*kālānta*), *kalata* from root *kṛ*

(2) Bases in -vat

Nom. sing masc	<i>pajavav</i> (= Skt <i>pajavān</i>)
Instr. sing	<i>hetuvāt</i> ¹

With the nom. sing. cf Pāli *gunavav* — Skt *gunavān*

¹ The Kālsī dialect has mixed up *osadhī* (= Skt *ośhadhī*, *icm*) with *osadhi* (= Skt *amśhadhī* neut)

² From Vedic *juni*, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hetuvāt*, but *hetumat*, cf Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9 and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

INTRODUCTION

(3) Masculines and neutres in *-an*

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>lājā, lajā, lāja</i>	<i>lā[ɟ]āno, lajāne</i>
Acc neut <i>nāma, nāmā</i>	
Instr. <i>lājina, lajina</i>	
Gen <i>lājine</i>	

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension nom sing *k[am]ne* or *kamm[ān]*, dat. *kammaye*

(4) Masculines in *-in*

Nom sing <i>Pi[ɟa]dasi</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadasi</i>
Instr sing <i>Piyadasiṇā, Piyadasiṇā</i>
Gen sing <i>Piyadasiṇe, Piyadasiṇe, Piyadasiṇā</i>
Acc plur <i>[hə]thini</i> (= <i>hathini</i> at Dhauḷi, IV, 2).

The gen sing. *Piyadasiṇā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension

With the acc plur masc *[hə]thini* (i.e. *hathini*), cf *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. 15)

(5) Neuters in *-as*

Acc sing *vaso* or *yasho*, *bh[u]ṣe*

The base *vā[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt *vachas*

(6) Other bases in consonants

The feminine base *dis* (or *diṭā*) forms the acc sing *dishā* (for *disām*) The two feminine base, *'utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension loc sing *pajpadāne* (γ) (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[a]ṣe*, nom pluri *palisa*

C—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person

Singular	Plural
Nom <i>hakam</i> .	
Instr <i>mamayā, me</i> (III, 7)	
Gen <i>[mama], mamā.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16)

The nom. sing. *hakam* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in Māhārāshtri), see Pāṇ. V 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417

The instr sing *mamayā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama* (cf *mamā*, Hāmachandīa, III, 109).

(2) Base *ta*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>se</i> [s], <i>the</i> , neut <i>ta</i> , <i>se</i> , [tə]e.	Masc <i>te</i> .
Acc masc <i>tam</i> , neut <i>se</i> , <i>the</i>	
Instr <i>tena, tana</i>	<i>tehi</i>
Dat <i>tā[ɟe]</i>	<i>te[hi]</i> .
Abl <i>[te]phā, t[ā]</i>	
Gen <i>tava, tasha, tasta, tathā</i>	<i>tesham, tānam</i> .
Loc <i>tasi</i>	

Nom sing fem *sā, shā*

As noted by Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl sing *[te]phā* goes back to *tamha* (= Skt *tasmāt*), cf *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Pāṇini *amhe* and *tamha*) in the separate edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugada The abl *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13), cf Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425

(3) Base *ita*

Singular.		Plural.
Nom masc [e]se (VIII, 23), ¹ [e]she (X, 28), ¹ eśh[a]	Neut e[ɛ]āni	
(XIII, 38), neut ese, eshe.		
Insti etakenā		
Dat etāya (XII, 34), etāya, dha(ɛ)ta[k]āya		
Gen itishā		

Nom. sing fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37)

With the gen sing *itishā* cf. *etisa* at Shāhbazgarhi and Manshra.

(4) Demonstrative *iyam*

Singular		Plural
Nom masc <i>iyam</i> , <i>iyam</i> , neut <i>iyam</i>		Masc <i>ime</i>
Acc neut <i>imam</i>		
Gen. <i>imas[ā]</i>		

Nom sing fem *iyam*

Dat sing fem *imayu*.

The nom masc *iyam* is taken from V, 15, where *iyam* perhaps stands for *i + ayam* (= Skt *yāyam*). The form *iyam* is used as masculine in V, 16, elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun

The acc plur neut. [ā]ni is used as a demonstrative, see I cat, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* - Skt *cha* (nom sing masc *kichha*) or *chi* = Skt *chid* (nom and acc sing neut. *kichhi*). As at Gīrnār, the compounds *kimti* (XII, 33) and *kuti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun

Singular		Plural
Nom masc <i>ye</i> , neut <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>am</i>		Masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i>
Acc neut <i>yam</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>e</i> (XIII, 38)		
Instr. <i>yena</i>		
Gen <i>asā</i>		<i>yesham</i>
Loc		<i>yeśu</i>

(7) Base *anya*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>amne</i>		Masc <i>amne</i> <i>am</i> , } neut <i>amnam</i>
Acc.		
Dat. <i>aminīye</i> .		
Gen. <i>amnamanashū</i>		

(8) Base *sarva*

Singular.		Plural
Nom. neut. <i>sarve</i> , <i>sharve</i> , [tā]va.		Masc [sa]va
Acc masc <i>sarvam</i> , neut <i>sarvān</i> , <i>sharva[m]</i>		
Loc		s[a]va [v]u, <i>sharvaśu</i>

Nom. sing. fem *sharva*.

(9)

Nom sing neut *it[ā]ta*, while classical Sanskrit has *itarat*.

¹ Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *nbhaya*

Gen. plur *nbhaye[sa]m*.

(11) Base *ekataru*

Loc. sing. *ekatalash[ɪ]*.

(12) Base **ṛkatya*

Nom. plur. masc. *[ɛ]katiyā*

D.—NUMERALS

One

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two

Nom. masc. *duve*

This form may be used for all genders in all Prakrits, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini, tūni*

Cf. Prakrit *tūni*, Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatali* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7) The same irregularity is frequent in Prakrit, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439

Five, six

Loc. *pañchasu, shashu* (= Prakrit *chhavu*)

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen*

atha, das[a], duṣṣṍdasa (with lingual *d*),¹ *ṛ[ɛ]dasa*

Hundred

Acc. plur. *satāni*, instr. *[sa]tehi*, loc. *shateshu*

The ordinal is *chato* (= Skt. *śatatama*), see XIII, 39

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shah[a]sha* (= Skt. *śahasatama*), see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shat[a]-shako[ɛ]r*

Nom. plur. *[sa*]tu-sahasāni*

¹ The *d* has been further changed to *r* in Prakrit *bārata* and *bāraka*

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nīkham[am]tu*.

Root *gark*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ṣi* the participle *vyinamane* and the absolutive *vyin[ī]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *ṣiṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *ṣiṇādi*).¹

Root *drī*: *dakhati*.²

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvyē* (sixth class)

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[ē]vu*.

Root *vrī*: *anuvataṁti*.

Root *stihā*. The absolutive *chithi[ā]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chithhadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation. *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *ṣ* or *yā*: *yaṁti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[ḥaṁ]*, see below, p lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]hañi[ī]*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *ṣojohatavye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ñ* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxxvi) is strengthened by Guna.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*

Root *man*: *manina[ī]* and *manati*

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class *pāpundāta[ti]*

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation *śhunc[ī]*

Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation. *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class

Root *kri* The 3 sing *kaletī* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3 plur *ka[la]mti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation *chhanati*

Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *dasayitu*, [*d*][*ṣ*][*ayema*], *ālādhay[ī]amtu*, *a-lokayitu*, *alokay[ī]su*, [*pa*][*i*][*a*][*dha-*][*yisam*][*ī*]. The character *aya* is changed to *ya* in *vadhīyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhīy[ī]vati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujyēti*, *pujyeta[ī]* [*ya*], *lochetu*, *urvateti* and *ni[va^a][teti*, [*pati*][*ē*][*vedetu*

¹ See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

² See above, p lxxiv, n 3

- (b) With *āya* · *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20)
 (c) With *paya* *hāpa*[*y*][*sa*]*i*, [*ānapaya*]*mi*, *anap*[*a*]*yaṁti*, *ānapayite*, *loṭṭa*.
 (d) With *āpaya* · *lekkhāpeṣāmi*, *lekkhāṇṭa* (without Guna of the radical vowel), *lekkhāṇṭa*, *hālāṇṭa*.
 (e) With *pāpaya* · *lopapita*

(2) *Moods*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikkhamitthā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijñamāna*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāmi*, [*ānapaya*]*mi*
 3. sing. [*pa*]*ṭṭ*[*lakamati*, *ga*][*ḥ*]*ṭṭ*, *dakkhati*, *hoti*, *atthi*, *up*[*a*]*ṭṭ*[*ḥ*]*ṭṭ*[*i*], *maṇṇat*[*i*] and *manati*, *irikkhati*, *kaletti*, *ḥkhinatti*, *pujjetti*, *nivatteti* and *ni*[*va*]*ṭṭ*[*i*], *vadhiyati*.
 3. plur. *anuvāṇṭi*, *vassati* (= Skt *vasanti*), *yamti*, *icchamti*, *ka*[*ḥ*]*ṭṭ*. In *pāpunāṭi*(*ti*) the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*), cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauḥ and Jaugada.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).
 3. sing. *susushkatu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).
 3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative

1. sing. *ye*[*ḥ*]*ṭṭ* (for **yaṇṭi*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]*ṭṭ*[*pāday*]*ḥ*ṭṭ (or *patupālayeḥ*ṭṭ) and *ālābhheḥ*ṭṭ in the separate edicts at Dhauḥ and Jaugada. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403) *tuktheḥ*ṭṭ, *abhisambudhayeḥ*ṭṭ, *gacchheḥ*ṭṭ.
 3. sing. *nivatte*[*ḥ*]*ṭṭ*, *patipajjeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāṭi*, *siyāṭi*. The two last forms (= Skt *siyāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivatte*[*ḥ*]*ṭṭ* (= Skt. *nirvartayāt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbattayeyāmi* (for *nibbattayeyāmi*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [I, 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dāpayiḥ* and *paṇḍāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayiḥ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460

1. plur. [*d*]*ipajeyema*
 3. plur. *a*[*su*] (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huvveya*,¹ *shunc*[*y*]*u*, *shushusheyyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas*[*e*]*ṭṭ* (VII, 21)

(d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]*nivatte*[*ṭ*]*ṭṭ*.
 3. plur. *nikkham*[*am*]*ṭṭ*, *manatu*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayit*(*am*)*ṭṭ*, *lochetu* (= Skt *rādhayantu*), [*pa*]*ṭṭ*]-*vedetū*, *anuv*[*dh*]*ya*[*ṇ*]*ṭṭ* (passive)

(e) Imperfect

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikkhamitthā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*, see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.
 3. plur. 1ctive *nikkhamisu*, *hisu* (= *ahimsu* at Girmār) The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*² are used as subjunctives.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huvveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Pāṣāṇī dialect.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *ākhā, ākhā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āhu*

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi, lekhhāpēsāmi*.
3. sing. *kachhats, vadhyatsi, hāpa[y]e[sat]i*.
3. plur. *kachhān[e]ti, anuvatsa[m]ti, anuvāsasānti, anap[a]ysamti, [pa]v[e]ṭ[a]dhayāsānt[e]ti*, and the two passives *[a]nurvadhysama* (read *°sumti*) and *alābhi[y]asā[m]ti*

V. PASSIVE

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3 sing indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *pravatyati*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pasasati*, IX, 26, and *pasavati*, XI, 30), cf Text, p 39, n 3

3. plur. indicative *anuvadhysama* (read *°yamti*, = Skt. *anuvadhyaṇtē*), *alābhi[yam]ti*.
3. plur. imperative *anuv[e]ḍh[ya]n[e]ti*
3. plur. aorist *°vadhysu*¹
3. plur. future *[a]nurvadhysama* (read *°samti*), *alābhi[y]asā[n]ti* (cf the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE

- 3 sing subjunctive *susushdāti*
3. plur optative *shushusheya*.

VII. PARTICIPLES

(1) Present participle.

Active

Root *as*. *samtam*

Root *kri*. *kalamtam* (*kala[m]ta*, *kalata*)

Middle

Root *ji*. *vijnamama*, see above, p lxxxii

Root *ad*. *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta*. *matu* and *muta* (= Skt. *matu*), *matu* (= *mritu*), *kata* (= *krīta*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vithata* (= *vistrīta*), *[u]ṣhata* and *ushuta* (= *utvṛita*), *nisita* (= **nisṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhta*, *likhapita*, *khanāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,¹ *kuta* (= *bhūta*), *atākanta* (= *atākṛanta*), *su(sam)kṛita* (= *samkṛīta*), *vudha* (= *vridha*), *apavudha* (= *apodha*), *ludha* (= *lubha*), *āludha* (= **āāldha*), &c

(b) In *-na*. *ṣ[a]sh[am]na*, *vipahina* (i e **hina*)

(3) Future passive participle

(a) In *-tavya*. *katavya*, *vatatavya*, *payohitavya* (see above, p lxxxii), *vijayataavya* (for Skt *vijitavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *ṣajetat[e]ya*, *pati[vedeta*]vitya*.

(b) In *-anya*. *vedanya*.

¹ Johanson (*Shāhb*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kayati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjai*

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alambhi* or of the substantive *ālambha* (III, 8, &c.)

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt *ānāpita* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*) *ālabhitu*, *palitdātu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chithi[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chithadi*), *vijm[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jināti*, see above, p. lxxxi), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-ri-chayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya* *shamkhēye* (read *samkhāya*) from *sam-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *kakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvāt*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātika* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātukya* (= *prapañcīti*), *svāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (l'ouchel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-lara* and *-lama* are added to substantives in *ka[m]talā* (i.e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gayatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhi version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johanson.—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der uezzehn Isdikte des Königs Aśoka*. (*Tiré des Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *muf[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavmha*. In *mēhats* (= *manyatā*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *u* is perhaps caused by the palatal *#*.¹

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *ryam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnar) and *keta* (Kālsī) = **itra*, see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *edisa* (= *idrisā*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punah*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūnam*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation, see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ri* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *sr*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usatena*, *dukatañi*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *vadhi* (= Skt. *vridhiti*), *vapata* and *vyapata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *ananyam*, {*da*}*khati*, (2) *kita*, *s[ri]kita[su]*, *edisa*, *ladisa*, *yadisa*, *pranatika*, (3) bases in *-ri*. *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

¹ With *mēhats* Johanson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. I, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-maijan* and German *meinen* (English to *mean*).

and for *r* after a labial: *agrabhuti*, *viyaputa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *mula*, *vutani* and *vutam* (= *vṛittam*), *ni.nfa* (= *nirvṛita*), *ni.vti* (= *nirvṛiti*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grakatha* (= *grīkashtha*); (5) [kr][ta] (II, 4), *driddha*, *vstritena*; (6) *kitra* (i.e. *kṛita*, = Skt. *kṛita*);¹ (7) for *r* after a labial *pu[r]* [r], *hhu*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛgaya*). In *ṣṛneyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *ṣṛu*, *ṣṛu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*, see *duv[i]* = *du[ɪ]* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *duṣ* (II, 4) and *dvaṁ* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amūi* (VIII, 17) for *amūe* = Skt. *anyah*, *Amūkini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *vajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively, see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichai*, VII, 5), [o] [sha] [dha] (II, 5), *paputra* (XIII, 11), *paialokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharoṣṭhi alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kti* (= **kṛit* + *iti*), *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vedic *vā*, i.e. *eva* + *u*)² and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *eva*).³

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirathiya* (= *nulathiya* at Kālat) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opak* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = **dūkār dha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amityoka*, and *y* by the same in *Amūkini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuku*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kambaya*. [ɸ] *vayukotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samaya*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vachaspi*, *vachra-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vachaniti*, *v[ɸ]achyam*, cf. Prākṛit *vachchui* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṇ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprakino*, *pranatika*, *Pitunika* (= *P[ɸ]etipika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *i*, or *sh*, see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanapriyena*, *paikamena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiraman*, *rupani*, *sakusani*, *Gandharanam*, *manuvanam*, *mahamati anam*, *Kathikanam*, *garuna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(m)na*. On the other hand lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prapnati* (from Skt. *pṛāpnōti*), *santurana* (from *tirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanapriy[ɸ]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *pats* (eight times) or *prats* (twice) for *prats* (five times), and after *sha* in [o] [sha] [dha] (II, 5), *prashanda* and *prashoda* (for **pārshanda* and **pārshada* = Skt. *pārshadi*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapēśadi* (= *hopēśati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kāli, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12)⁴. Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēni dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avutrapayy* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *padham* (VII, 5) for *budham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *kots* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhōti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhik*) of *bahukhi* and *śutchi*.

As at Kāli, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayura*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (VIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *eva* (five times) for *yav* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yavat* and of [ɪ] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadruts* (thrice), *Devanapriy* (four times) or

¹ The spelling *kitra* suggests that (ɸ) [kr] [ta] is also meant for *kṛita*. Cf. Johansson, § 27. Michelson, AJP, 31, 57, and below, p. lxxxvii.

² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirst.

³ Michelson (JAOS, 30, 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

⁴ At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for **yadi* = Skt. *yātrā*), and *tenada* (= *tēndāra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tenuadra*. Cf. *ada*, *putra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription, EI, 11, 208, n. 3.

**piasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālvi). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *anapayami*, *dratayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *anapemi*, *anapēsamis*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivāteyati* (= Skt. *nivartayāt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todasa* (= Skt. *trayodasa*) to an original *ayo*.¹

The change of *r* into *l* in *palg[e]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-loches*² is a Māgadhism, while, as at Gīrnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhat* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = *Πτολεμαῖος* (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsi) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhi version is based on a Māgadhā original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *d* corresponds to the lingual *ḍ* of Tamil *Kiraḍa*, the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḍ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyati*), *vuta* (= *upta*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apīdha*). As at Kālvi, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsi version, the Shāhbāzgarhi one distinguishes the three sibilants *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, but with one important difference. While at Kālvi these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhi text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.³ Thus we find *s* in *anusasti*, *atamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *dāśa*, *deśa*, *dratana*, *dratayitu*, *Priyadrasa*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[la]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śila*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śilana*), *śudh* (i. e. *suddhi*), *śatayiki*, *prativestiya*, *nīśita* (= Skt. **nīśrita*), *śramana*, *śravaṇa*, *śrūta*, *śrutu*, *śrūneyu*, and *śh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dhu]n*, *ghoshu*, *tośho*, *dośha*, *parisha*, *prashuinda*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[hu]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *niskramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshtyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *annoschana*, *[s]retha* (= *śrēṣṭha*); *s* for *śh* in *abhsita* (= *abhiśhukta*), *yesu*, *n[sha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]ys[hu]*, *śh* for *s* in *pauchashu* and *shashu* in *manuta* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-sati* and *-sati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śh*, in which the original *śh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *sutrusna*, *sutrusathu*, *sutrusheyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[us]asana*, *anustatibhiti* the second *s* (for *ś*) is due to assimilation.⁴

Cases of Cockneyism are *hainche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt *āha*, *kuda* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt *hastina*, and between two vowels in *mau* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt *iha*) and *uloka*.

As at Gīrnār and Kālsi, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*, see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* = Skt *hastina*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadhā dialect, *e*, see *bhuy[e]*, *chatur*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *ahe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amūi* (VIII, 17), *Ahūtikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anuvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idani* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imani* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayan* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānīm*), *eva* (twice) = *evam* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *ath[r]a*, *dośha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *pūja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *hātuna*, *Nabhituna*, *gurunna*, *bhātuna*, *spas[us]na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *n[sha]y[e]sa*, *abhratuna*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhā dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-am* instead of *-am*, see *eshe* (X, section 1), *ye* (VI, section F, IX, F and I, XIII, 1), *savve* (XII, 5, XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

¹ Mānśrā has *tredasa*, Dhāuli and Kālvi *tedasa*, for **trayadasa*.

² But not in *sochetu*, see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

³ I differ here from Johanson, §§ 14, 4th, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30 289.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *śaka* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

⁵ Cf. Hāmachandra, I, 29

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.¹ The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *katiro* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *iro* (XII, 2) for *iyani* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudrisasam* at Girmāi we find *anudrisaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayani* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*] *vamveva* and *parati* [*la*] *m eva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhatam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, the result of *a + u* always appears in writing as short *a*, see *kitabhikavo*, *grabhagava*, *bnada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *pranavambho*, *mahathavaha*, *-vashabhūsta*, *supathay* [*e*], *dhramanusasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*atha*] *vaska-a* [*bhu*] *ita* [*sa*] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *braman-abhesu*, before *u* in *chu* (= *chu + u*) and *paṇ-upadane*, before *e* in *cheva*, before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *lat-opayam* (see above, p. lxxii), and *u* before *o* in *pat-opakani*.

s + a are contracted into *s* in *s* [*stridhi*] *yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girmār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *s* if it is combined with other consonants. The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations.²

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *alshara*

(a) in *rbk grabhagava* (= *garbhāgava*)

(b) in *rm dhrama* (i.e. *dharma*) and *dhrañma* (i.e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karma*) and *krañma* (i.e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv prva* (= Skt. *pūrva*)

(d) in *rs dratana* (i.e. *darśana*), *drasaytu* (= Skt. *darśayitū*), *Priyadrasi*

(e) in *rsk prashanda* and *prushada* (from Skt. *pārśada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg vagra* (i.e. *varga*), *spvra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rt kīra* (i.e. *kīra*, = Skt. *kṛta*), *kīri* (= Skt. *kīrti*)

(c) in *rth and rth atira* and *athra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv savra* (i.e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i.e. *sarvatra*)

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants, see *atura* and *anūlara*, *atkruta* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Antiyoka*, *anata* and *ananta*, *Atikasandara* (= Ἀτίκασανδρος), *karatani* and *karanitani*, *Katiga*, *Devanupriya* and *Devanumprīya*, *prashuda* and *prashanda*,³ *badhana* and *sambo* [*m*] *dha*, *magala* and *mangala*, *vihisu* (= Skt. *vihimsā*), *satam* and *sa* [*m*] *tam*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa* [*m*] *yama*, *s* [*a*] *yuta* (= *samyukta*), *saśayika* (= *samsayika*),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

² Buhler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhōti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *muk[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradketu*, *pativedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhi will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhi dialect, see his articles in *AJP*, vols 30 and 31, and *JAOS*, vol. 30.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k* in *fako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).

kr remains in *atikratañ*, &c.

ksh remains¹ in *akshati*, [*adhi*] *yaksha*, [*kshari*]*ti*, *kshayati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshiteṇa*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*] *khati*.²

kshy becomes *ksh* in *vraikshanti*.

lhy becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhyat[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in *agra*, [*a*] *pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

chy becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyati*?).

jñ becomes *ñ* in *kīrañāta* (= Skt. *kīrtajāñāta*), *ñats*, *ñatuka*, *ñanani*, *rañā*, *rañō*, *ñ*, as in literary Prakrit, in *anapayami* and *anapemi*, *anapetanti*, *anapita*.

jy becomes *y* in *yoti* (= Skt. *jyoti*, IV, 8).

ñj becomes *ñā* in *vaññanato* (= Skt. *vaññajanataḥ*).

dy becomes *d*, as at Gīrnār, in *Pañda* (XIII, 9), but *dy*, as at Kālsī, in *Pañdya* (II, 4).

ny becomes *ñ* in *puñā*, *hirañā*, but *ny* in *ananiya* (= Skt. *ananyā*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.³

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*)

ty becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

tr remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todata* (= Skt. *trayōdāśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).⁴

tv remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvi*).

ts becomes *s* in *usatsna*, *chukisa*.

tskh becomes *th* in *uthanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uthanani* (ibid.).⁵

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipajyats*, *y* in *nyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*)

dr remains in *khudrakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *h* in *badaya(sa)* (cf *dhādasat* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadha*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nyha[i]* and *anunija(jha)pets* (= [*a*] *nu* [*nyha*] *payat[i]* at Mānsehrū), but *dhy* in [*adhi*] *yaksha*

dhr remains in *dhruva* and *Avudhra*.

nm becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

ny becomes *mā* or *ñ* in *aññā* and *añā*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañsku*, *hamñam[i]*, [*ha*] *mñayasm*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[i]*, *vuta* (= Skt. *upta*, II, 5), *asamatani*, *saṁkshiteṇa*, *nataro* (= *naptārak*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pu becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.

pr remains in *Priyudasi*, *Devanampriya*, *pṛiti* (i. e. *pṛiti*), *prakara[ṇ]*e (XII, 3) *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *pṛāṇa*), *pradet[i]ka*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhav*, [*p*] *rayukotave*, [*pr*] *va* [*dh*] *e* *sañti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *avprakhino*, *pratipa* [*ti*] (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[ā]* *gaye*, *prativediyeṇa*, *p[r]* *ativadhane* (VIII, 17), *prativedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapriya* (I, 2), [*a*] *pakaranasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *patipajyats*,

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

³ See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

⁴ Mānsehrū has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātri*) in the same section.

⁵ Mānsehrū has *uthana* in both cases.

patipati (twice), *sanipatipati* (twice), *pativadhana* (V, 13), *pativedaka*, *pativedana*, *pativedetu*, *pativedato* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

bhy becomes *hk* in *-ibhesku*, *arabhisanti* (future passive), but *bhy* in *[arabhi]* *vi[n]* (aorist passive)

bhr remains in *bhratuna*

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *nimm*) in *samma* and *sanimma*

mr becomes *mb* in *Tambapanni*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i.e. *varga*, see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i.e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*)

rn becomes *nn* in *Tambapanni*

rt becomes *t* in *anuvataṭu*, but *rt* in *kirtu* (i.e. *kirti* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *t* in *kativa*, *anuvataṭu* *an[n]* *patisanti*, *nivateti*, *nivateyati*

rth remains in *athra* (i.e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *rth* in *athra* (i.e. *artha*, VI, 14, IX, 19), and *th* in *atha* (passim), *nirathiyāṇi*

rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhisiṭu*, *vadhēti*, *pra[va]dh[e]santi*, *vadhita* *diadha*

rkh remains in *grabhagava* (i.e. *garbhāgāva*).

rm remains in *krama* (i.e. *karma*) and *kramma* (i.e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i.e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i.e. *dharma*).¹

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryeṣu*), but *ry* in *anamataiyena*, *madhuryaye*, *sama[ha]* *riyāṇi*

rv remains in *purva* (i.e. *pūrva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i.e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *vava* *nivateti*, *nivateyati*, *nivata*, *nivati*

rs remains in *draṣana* (i.e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Privadaṭu* (= *darśan*) but becomes *ś* in *daṣana* (VIII, 17)

rsh remains in *prashanda* (i.e. **pārshanda*)² and *prashada*, but becomes *sh* in *vashu*, *pashanda* (XII, 3) and *pashada* (XII, 9)

rshy becomes *sh* in *kasham*, *kashati*, *kashanti*

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati* *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhana*)³

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*

ly becomes *l* in *lalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*)

vy becomes *v* in *vanūhana*, *vapata* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *pravaroti*, *kativa*, *pativedato*, *[p]* *ayukhato*, *vato*, but *vi* in *vijetav[ita]*, and *vy* in *viyapata* and *viyaputa* (V, 13), *kshamstavaya*, *pujeyavaya*

vr remains in *[tore]*, *pravrajata*, *vrachanti*, *v[ac]cheyam*, *vrashanti*, *vrachaspi* and *vracha bhumiṭa* (also at Mānsehrā)

sch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kuśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*)

sy becomes *ty* in *prativestiyana*

sr remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaṇa*, *śūruṣka*, *śūruṣhutu*, *śūruṣheyu*, *śuta*, *śantu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamana* (IX, 19), *niste*, and *sr* in *[ś]retha* (= Skt. *śreṣṭha*)

shk becomes *k* in *dukataṇi*, *dukara*

shkr becomes *k* in *nikramanam*, *nik[ra]matu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*

shk becomes *th* in *[atha]* = Skt. *ashu* (XIII, 1)

shtr becomes *th* in *Rathikanam*.

shth becomes *th* in *tithiti*, *[s]retham*, *th* in *-adhithana*

shy becomes *ś* (i.e. *ś*) in *manuta* and in the futures in *-vati* and *-vati*

At Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kamdhani*

st remains in *osti*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinā*), *sanstava*, *sanstula* *astithana* -*annavati*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*⁴

¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

² This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārshada*) and the origin of Skt. *pashanda*, cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rasa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaka* (= Skt. *garhā*)

⁴ See above, p. xlii

str remains in *s[stɾ]*, *striyaka*.
sth becomes *th* in *graktha*, *chura-thitka*.
sn becomes *sn* in *[sɪ][ne*]ho* (XIII, 5).¹
sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.
sy becomes *sty* in *rabhasiye*, *stya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.
sr remains in *paṣṣraṣe*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).
rv becomes *sp* in *spa[kə]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṭhāna*).
hm becomes *m* in *dramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom masc. <i>jano</i> , &c ; neut <i>danam</i> , &c	Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c ; neut. <i>[o]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhramam</i> , &c., neut <i>maṇḍalam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c., neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rupani</i> .
Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.	<i>śatehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athayr</i> , &c.	
Abl <i>karana</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>paṭha</i> .	
Gen <i>janasa</i> , &c	<i>pramanani</i> , &c.
Loc (a) <i>orodhanaspi</i> , &c., (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c	<i>vasheshu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jano* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[kə]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *saṁbhāṣiṇ[dha]* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent, see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Amṛtkṛmi* (XIII, 9) we have *-s* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *drasana* and *daśana* (VIII, 17), *puṣa* (XI, 24), *maṇḍala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *dratane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-ani* or *-e* *katavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prativeda'avo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedatavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagam* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *ath[ra]* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karana* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *nṭhana[s]* (VI, 15), *[ga]ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]* (I, 2), *yu[tas]* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *antape*, *abadhe*, *avaha*, *Kalige*, *prakara[ne]*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivake*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vṛakṣanūts* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* *harapita cha vnta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kanidhani*, *Kaliga[m]*, *-prashanidani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grakathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *muhamatratana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-braṇaṇana* (IV, 9).

¹ Mānsehrā reads *si[ne]he*.

(2) Feminines in -i.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik[ɪ]sa</i> , [<i>kr</i>] <i>h[ɪ]sa</i> , <i>striyaka</i> . ¹
Acc. <i>puja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pujaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa[n̄]tirāṇaye</i>	

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.
Gen. plur. *ñatma[n̄]*, *ñatma*, *Nabhatma*.

(2) Feminines in -s and -s

Singular.	Plural
Nom. <i>dṛṣṭi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>-anusa[st̪i]ya</i> , <i>bhātīya</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anvī stīye</i> , <i>vadhīya</i> .	
Abl. <i>navuṭṭya</i> , <i>Ta[n̄]bāpani[n̄]ya</i>	
Loc. <i>ayātīya</i> .	

With the nom. plur. *atavi* cf. Pālī *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātri*)

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc. fem., and neut. *śadhu*, nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*, instr. plur. *bahuhi*, gen. plur. *gurnna*, *garuna*

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -u

Nom. plur. *nataro*.
Gen. plur. *bhratma*, *spasa(su)na* ⁴
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in -at

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[n̄]tān̄ (satañ)* and *karamtām (karatām)*

(2) Masculine in -vat

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvan*)

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an

Singular	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i>	<i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i>
Acc. neut. <i>nama</i> .	
Instr. <i>raña</i>	
Gen. <i>raño</i> .	

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kāmanam*, dat. *kāmanāni*

¹ The Skt. feminine *stri*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII 9 in the form *i[stri]*.

⁴ At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*

INTRODUCTION

(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrafi*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasina*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasina*.Acc. plur. [*a*]stina (*astī[ne]*) at Mānśhrā.The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuy[ε]*.The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *jots-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtus*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension. loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānśhrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>so</i>	} neut. <i>tañ</i> , <i>so</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>tah</i>	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>taye</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

P
Masc. <i>te</i> .
<i>tesha[ñ]</i> , <i>tesha</i>

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānśhrā, cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *eta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> , neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etain</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i>	|	Masc. <i>eta</i> (1, 3).
(X, section E).		
Instr. <i>etakena</i> .		
Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etaknye</i> .		
Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6, XII, 9).		

Nom. sing. fem. *etka* (XIII, 4).

The *t* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānśhrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *ki*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*)

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayañ*, *ayi*, neut. *idañ*, *ida*, *imañ*, *ima*, *iyañ*, *iyō*.

Acc. neut. *imañ*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya*, *ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6)

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *imīṇā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf the feminine bases *imi*, *tī*, *ei*, *ji*, *kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun

The indefinite *kichu* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachu* (XII, 5). The compound *kits* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo*, *y[e]*; neut. *yaiñ*, *ye*.

Acc. neut. *yaiñ*, *yo* (X, 21), *[e]* (XIII, 5)

Instr. *y[na]*.

Gen. *yasa*

Loc.

Masc. *ye*.

yēsha (*yēsha*[*m*] at Mānśhrā).

yēsu.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plu. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe*, *aiñs*, neut. *añaiñ*.¹

Acc.

Dat. *añeye*.

Gen. *añamañasa*.

Plural.

Masc. *aññe* } neut. *añani*

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular

Nom. neut. *sav[ṛ]aṇ*, *sav e*.

Acc. masc. and neut. *savram*, *savaiñ*.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *savē*.

savēshu, *savvshu*.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bbu]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesañ* at Mānśhrā).

(11) Base *ekataṛa*.

Loc. sing. *ekataṛe*.

(12) Base **ekatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatu*.

¹ *añ[e]* at Mānśhrā, IV, 15

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e**]*kañi*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv[ɛ]*.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhmāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturah*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9)

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*atha*], *dafu*, *badaya[sa]*, *todafu*.

Hundred.

Acc. plui. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.The ordinal is *sata*; see *sata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7)

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa[śa-saha]sre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*

E.—CONJUGATION

I PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *lram*: *parakramati*, *nik[r]amatu*Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *js* [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijinoti*, see above, p lxxxii and n. 1Root *trap* *avatrapeya*Root *dris* [*da*]*kkati*.Root *ni* *annuñeti*Root *bhu* *bhōti*, *hōti*

Root *labh*, the absolutive *ara[bhītu]* and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]y[ɛ]n and *arabhi-śaniti* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhati*)

Root *vas* *vasati*.Root *vrit* *anuvratatu*, *anuvatāñiti*

Root *vraj* : *vrachānti*. For Prākṛit *vachchai* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *viyati* see Hīma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3

Root *stāh*. The absolutive *tīthati* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tīthati* (= Skt. *tīśhathi*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as* : *asti*.

Root *han* : *upahanti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *ku*. The gerundive [*ṣ*] *rayukotave* is formed from the Skt. present *jukhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad* : *patipajeyati*.

Root *man* : *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prapuyati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation : *śruṣyeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *isk* : *ukhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yaj* follows the *a*-conjugation : *yajanti*

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *karoti*, but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *kāmantam* and *ka[rā]mīn[ṣ]* presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kṣan* follows the *a*-conjugation : *kṣhanti*.

Ninth Sanskrit class

Root *as* follows the *a*-conjugation : *asamana* (part. pres. middle)

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *dispayami*, *drasayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujēti*, *pujastavyu*, *a[rā]dhēti*, *aradhitu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-lochēti*, *pativedēti*, *pativedetaṣv*, *nivatēti*, *vadhēti*.

(b) With *paya*. *paṣyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*, *paśyati*.

(c) With *āpaya*. *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyati*.

(2) Moods

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*va*] *janamana*, *ka[rā]mīna*, *asamana*.

(a) Indicative

1. sing. *parak[rā]manti*, *drasanti*, *sukhayanti*, *pujanti*, *aradanti*, *rochati*, *lochati*, *pativadati*, *nivatati*, *vadati*.

3. sing. *parak[rā]manti*, *drasanti*, *sukhayanti*, *pujanti*, *aradanti*, *rochati*, *lochati*, *pativadati*, *nivatati*, *vadati* and *hanti*, *asti*, *upahanti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ukhati*, *karoti*, *kṣhanti*, *anunijā[ya]peti*, *pujēti*, *a[rā]dhēti*, *nivatēti*, *vadhēti*.

3. plur. *anuvānti*, *vrachānti*, *ichhamti*. The Anuvāra is missing in *bhūti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapuyati*, *karā[ṣ]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive

1. sing. *dispayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination)

(c) Optative.

- 1 sing. *v[r]ackeyaiṁ* (from **vackchati* = Skt. *vrajati*).
 3 sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *patipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarāti*), *nivatyati*¹ (= Skt. *nivṛtati*; cf. above, p. lxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.
 3 plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śrimeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ka*]mūṇeyasu (below, V)

(d) Imperative.

- 3 sing. *bhotu*, *anuvatatū*.
 3 plur. *parakramantu*, *yijamāntu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatū*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhētū*, *rocchētū*, *pativedētū*.

(e) Imperfect.

- 3 sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavāt*).

II AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

- 3 sing. *nikrami*.
 3 plur. *nikramiṣṭu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-ṣu* seems to be affixed to *abhiṣvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*, cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

- 3 plur. *mañiṣṭu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ḥ]e[śh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālāsi and Mānsehrā)²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3 sing. indicative present is affixed *ahati* and *hahati*.³

IV. FUTURE

- 1 sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]sham at Mānsehrā), *likh[ā]śami* (while Girnār has *likhāpaysam*)
 3 sing. *kashati*, *vadhisati*, *hapśati*.
 3 plur. *kashamti*, *an[ū]vatiṣamti*, *vrahasamti* (from root *vraj*), *anvāsasamti* (from *anu-śas*), *anaprasamti*, *pi[ā]d[ā]e[śh]amti* (*paradhayisamti* at Mānsehrā)

V PASSIVE

- 3 sing. indicative *vachati* (= Skt. *uchyati*), *prasavati* (= *prasāḍyati*)
 3 plur. indicative [*a*]nurvadhīyamti (= *anuvadhīyati*), *haviñamti*[r] (= *hanyanti*)
 3 plur. optative [*ka*]mūṇeyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination, cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.
 3 sing. imperative *anuv[dhi]yatu*.
 3 plur. aorist [*arabhi*]yis[ū] (from Skt. *ālabhyati*)
 3 plur. future *anuvadhīyisam[ti]* (from Skt. *anuvadhīyati*), *arabhisamti* (for **alabhyishanti* from Skt. *alabhyati*)⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE

- 3 plur. optative *sūśrusheyu*
 3 sing. imperative *sūśruskātū*

¹ Mānsehrā reads *nivatyā*

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7

³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11

⁴ Cf. *ārabhāre*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Girnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh*

VII. PARTICIPLES

(1) **Present participle.**

Active.

Root as: *sa[ni]tan* (*satani*).

Root *kri* : *karamtain* (*karatani*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: [vi]jinamana; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *kri·ka[ra]mina*

Root af: *afamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadhā edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) **Past passive participle.**

(a) In *-ta*, *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muta* (= *mṛita*), *kṛta*, [kr̥]āta, and *kṛta* a (= *kṛta*), *vapata*, *vṛyapata*, and *vṛyapata* (= *vṛyāpta*, V, 1), *vṛṣṭita* (= *vṛṣṭita*), *usata* (= *usṛta*), *nṛṣṭita* (= **nṛṣṭita*), *nṛṣṭita* (= Ancient Persian *nṛṣṭita*, see above, p. xlii), *mṛṣṭita*, *mṛṣṇapṭa*, *likṣṭita*, *likṣapṭa*(*ta*), *ṭhanapṭa*, *harapṭa*, *aroṣṭa*, *anapṭa*, *bṛṇta* (i.e. *bṛṇta*), *atukṛta* (= *atiki ānta*), [a]ṭṭa, *usṭṭa* (= *nirvṛṭta*), *vṛta* (= *vṛṣṭa*), *samata* (= *samāpta*), *samṛṣṭita* (= *samṛṣṭita*), *vudṭa* (= *vṛddha*), *apovudṭa* (= *apōdha*), *ladṭa* (= *labḥa*), &c.

(b) In -na . *prasana* (i.e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i.e. °*hina*)

(3) **Future passive participle.**

(a) In *-lavya kshamilavya, pñjetavya, vyrtav[i]a, kafava, valava, [p]raynhotava, putiv-*
detava

(b) In *-anIya* *v[e]danɪ[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya saka* (= Skt. *sakya*)

VIII. ABSOLUTE

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt *-tvā*). *ara[blutu]*, *parityitu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasarana of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draśayitu*

(b) In *-ti* (= Vēdic *-tvi*) ¹ *tīhiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhati*) *vijināti* (from the present *vi-jināti*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-lochetti*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sainkhay*[a] (from *sam-khyū*)

The dialect of the *Mānśhrā* text is nearly identical with the *Shāhbāgarhi* one, but contains some more *Māgadhi*sms.¹ It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at *Mānśhrā* which differ from the corresponding ones at *Shāhbāgarhi*.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayame* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *ru* [ru]sa (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ru* the Mānchūrā version has (1) *a* in *kata*, *sakata*, [ma]te, (2) *u* in [pa]ʔi *puchha*, *vapula* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*), (3) *e* in *gachata* (= *grīkashṭha*), (4) *ra* in *vyapata* (V, 24), (5) *ai* in *kapra* (i.e. *karta* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i.e. *varaddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*), (6) *ri* in *mirig*[ʔ], *mirigavya* (= *mirigavya*), (7) *ru* in *vruddhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), (8) *nr* in *vu lhra* (i.e. *vurddhu* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruckha* = Skt. *vṛiksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *ɣ* in *[dɪ]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *ɣ* in *[.l]hyoga*.

¹ Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

² Cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30 285 f.

⁸ The Prakrit form *gṛha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change from the root *ṛdh* = *ṛidh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, 1, 39.

* The spelling (5) *katra* (for *karta*) suggests that (4) *vvyapata* is meant for *vvyapata*.

⁸ The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vadhra* suggest that (7) *vadhri* is meant for *vadhri*.

(II, 6) As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kacchī*) and *kichhi* (= **kud + chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva[da]śa* (III, 9) = *duva[da]śa* (IV, 18), *tredaśa* (V, 21), and after *ri* in *kafa, sukaśa, [ma]lc, vapuśa, viyapraśa, vruḥhi*. Sanskrit *ṣ* is preserved in *paṇatikā* (= *pranaptirika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti[ni]* (= *triṇi*). In *aṇanyam* (VI, 31) the first *n* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *h* of the root *bhī* has become *h* in *hoṭi, hoṭu, aho, [ku]vryu, husu, huta-pruṣe* (twice), but not in *bhūta-pruṣa* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhūta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e, am* (= *yat*), *[a]dśe* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *śupadāve* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *t* of *[a]śa[yi]ke* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu, [arab]ḥṣu*, and *[alo]ḥ[hay]i[n]*, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *a* becomes *o* only in *tato, mukhato* (VI, 28), *yato, Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *nīsto* (V, 25), but generally *e*, see *he[tu]r, vi[ya]ñja[nate, natara]* (= Skt. *nap̐tārah, rajane* (= *rājñah, ra[jane]* (= *rājanah*), *l'riyadras̐ne* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vinī[ṭ]pamaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a + e* becomes *e* in *usaḥ-eva* (X, 11), and *ā + u* becomes *o* in *praḥ-opadāye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhi, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirathriya, vadhrite* and *vadhriyāśa* (IV, 15) for *vadhrite* and *vadhriyāśa*. Similarly *kaṭa* (= Skt. *kṛta*, V, 24) stands for *karṭa*,¹ *vadhri* (= *vridhri*) for *vaddhi*, *vadhra* (= *vridha*) for *vridha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *śamata* (II, 6), *[A]tiyoge, Adha, a[na]litiyena, anarabhe, anubadha, apa-bha[da]*, *[aba]ka, asapa[ṭ]ipati, Gadharana, -chhad, para[kra]mate* (3. plur.), *satiraṇa* (VI, 30), *kache* (for *hachhe*).

ksh becomes *kḥ* in *chhanata* and *ruchhani*

jñ becomes *n* in *kṛnata* (= Skt. *kṛtjñatā*), but *jñ* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajne* (= *rājñah*).

ny becomes *n* in *pūna, pūnān, apu[nē]*.

tm becomes *tv* in *atva* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *ty* in *apatye, [ekā]tiya*.

tr remains in *tredaśa*, but becomes *t* in *ti[ni]* (= Skt. *triṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.²

dr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakenu*.

dv becomes *dv* in *duva[da]śa* and *duva[da]śa*.

dh becomes *jh* in *istriya(jha)ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana[tra]* (X, 11), *n aṣe, aṇata* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa, maṇati, maṇ[ishu]*

pr remains in *pī ap[ṛ]tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika, pavadhriyāśanti, avipahin[ṛ], paṭibhogaye, paṭviciyena*.

br becomes *b* in *banana* (IV, 15) = *bramana* (passim).

bhy remains in *-bhyeshu*, but becomes *bhy* in *[ara]bh[ī]yānti*, and *bh* in *[arab]ḥṣu* (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata(tu)na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *sanmya*.

rg becomes *g* in *ma[ge]ḥn*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvataṭu* and *kṛti* (= Skt. *kṛti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirathriya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vadhrite*, IV, 15) and *vadhriyāśa* (i. e. *vardha*³), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12)

ly becomes *y* in *keyana* (= Skt. *kalyāna*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapuśa*; *vry* in *vīyapraśa, vi[ya]ñja[nate, mrigavya, kalavya, pra[johi]tavye, vatavye, paṭviciyena*.

vr becomes *v* in *[p]rava[ṇ]tani*.

st becomes *th* in *santha[v]*.

¹ In *vīyapraśa* (i. e. *vīyapraśa* = Skt. *vīyāprīta*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *ṣh* in *chira-ṣhṣṭka*.

sr becomes *s* in *pa[r]ṣave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubādha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[ni]*, loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*¹

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. [*Na*]bhapa[ni]ṣṭku.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an* instr. sing. *rajana*, dat. sing. *hiama[n]e* (i. e. *karman*), gen. sing. *rajane*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person nom. sing. *aani* (VI, 30) = *ahan* (VI, 28), instr. sing. *me* (III, 9)

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut., dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nani]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ṣṭa*: nom. sing. masc. [*ṣṭa*] (XIII, 6), gen. sing. *ṣ[ṭa]sa*, nom. plur. neut. [*ṣṭa*]

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35), gen. sing. *imasa*, nom. plur. masc. *ime*, nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*, nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*

Base *stara*: nom. sing. neut. [*ṣṭara*].

Numerals: [*ṣṭa*](*e*) (nom. sing. masc.), *dh[v]e*, *t[ṣu]*, *duva[da]sa* and *duva[da]ṣa*, *tredasa*

Present indicative 3. plur. *yamti* (from root *ṣ* or *yā*).—Subjunctive 1. plur. *dipoyama*, 3. plur. middle *para[kra]matr*.—Optative 1. sing. *ye[kani]* and 3. plur. *[hu]reyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (1 c. *aha*)

Passive: 3. plur. indicative [*ara*]bh[*iyamti*] (*alabhi[ya]m[ti]* at Kālsī), 3. plur. aorist [*arabh*]*ṣu* (*ārabhṣu* at Gīrnāi).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: [*anapayit*]e (III, 9),² *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Gīrnāi)

Future passive participle *pa[johi]ṣavaye*, see above, p. lxxxv

Absolute in *-ṣu* *draseti*

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt *madhyama*) and *likhyis[ami]*¹. It becomes *u* after a labial in *mumisa* (= *manushya*), *uchavucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *ndupana* (= *ndapana*)

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt *śrud*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *i* in *hita* (= **itra*) and *iḍisa*, *hiḍisa* (= Skt *idriṣa*), see above, p. lxx

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *punaḥ*). In *puṭisa* (= *puṇisha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *mumisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2

¹ This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛ* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānainna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānanyca*, *usaṇa*, *kaṇa*, [*kā*]*tū* and *katu* (= *krivā*), *dakkatha*, *dakkhami*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhi*, *viṭhaṇa*, *vyāpāṇa*, (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *iḍḍisa*, *āḍḍisa* (= *yāḍṛiṣa*), *dhiti*, *p[i]*[*i*]*su*, *bhāḍ[i]**naṁ*, *m[ā]*[*i*]- (= *māṭṛi*-, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*mga*]*v[vy]*[*ā*], (3) *u* in *pitu-* (= *pitrī-*, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti* (= *anāvṛiti*), *p[al]*[*v*]*[puchh]ā*, *puṭhau* (= *prithivī*), *vudha* (= *vridha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*, (5) *ra* in *drakhaṭi* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vr* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vrksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]paya*, *osaḍhāni*, *mukhya* and *mokhya*, *papatā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikāḥ*[*a*], *chi*[*la*]-*[hstikā]*, [*v*]*[vāha]*, *anāvṛitiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] (Jau. Sep.), *itānā*[*ya*] and *aḥ*[*ā*]*[a]**nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads [*u*]*lāya* and [*atulanā*]), *nithutyena*, *y[ā]**jevū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūki*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā*[*dha*]*yisa*[*th*]*ā*, *āhā* (passim) = *ā*[*ha*] (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭṭapādayemū* *ti*, *ma*[*m*]*ā* *ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *iva*), *savēnā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmi*, *apheṣū* *ti*, *ālādhyamitū* *ti*, [*kā*]*tū* (Jau. Sep.) = *katu* (Dhau. Sep.), *pālakama*[*n*]*[ā]*[*ā*], *yujaiutā*, *s[ā]*[*dh*]*[ā]* *ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way, see [*aph*]*ākā* *ti*, *anusathī* *ti*, *ā*[*adh*]*[i]*, [*n*]*[yhaṭi]*, *hṛṣṭ*, *v[ā]**dhi*, *sudhi*, *alochayisā*, *ālādhyayē*[*ā*] and *ālādhyayevū*, *chaley*[*ā*] *ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhumāvū*, *pāpuncvū* *ti*, *yujeyu* *ti* and *yujevū* *ti*, *y[ā]**jevū* *ti* and *yūjevū* *ti*, *lahet*[*u*], [*va*]*jevū* *ti*, *huvēvū* *ti* and *huvyū* *ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu*[*k*]*ā*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik*[*a*] correspond to Skt. *gāṃuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā-* is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened, see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *taṭha* and *tathā*, *pīta* and *pīṭā*, *lāja* and *lījā*, *va* and *vā*, *kai*[*mana*] and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] and *anāvṛitiya*, and the nominative singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit*[*ā*], *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nutyani* (thrice) = *nī*[*t*]*[yam]* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nā*[*i*] (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *hūti*, *va* and *vā* (= *iva*). In *huvyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huvēvū* (Kālsī and Mānschrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS

In the separate edicts at Jaugada the guttural *k* is softened in *pālalogaiṇ*, *hidalog*[*am*], *hidalogika*, while Dhau. reads *pālaloka*[*m*], *hidaloka*, *hidalokika*.¹ *k* is represented by *y* in [*n*]*lath*[*i*]*yam* (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3), *g* by *y* in *-[o]paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kḥh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.² Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Antiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]*[chha]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kṣmchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]*jalā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kaiṇibocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajī*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugada text reads *patimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p[ay]*[*i*]*[ā]**ti*, *nāti*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṣ* is used in four stray instances [*kha*]*nas*[*i*] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *myhap*[*e*]*ta*[*v*]*ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālalok*[*k*]*[e]**nā* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savēnā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are linguized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭ* (also *pra* in *praṭvedayamitu*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ṛ* in *nsala*, *kaṭa*, [*kā*]*tū* and *kaṭu*, *puṭhavayam*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhi*, *viṭhaṇa*, *vyāpāṇa*, *vudha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]*[i]*[*th*]*su*. In the Jaugada separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad* *paṭipātayeham*, [*pā*]*ṭipātayem*[*a*], *vipaṭipātayamitāni*, [*sai*]*pāṭipā*[*tā*]*yam*[*am*], *sai**pāṭipātayam*[*av*]*e*, while Dhau. reads [*pā*]*[ṭ]*[*pāday*]*cham*, &c. For [*dha*]*ā* (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvamti nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

¹ Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-kita* and *pālalokika*.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nānu*; but in Pi-chel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nānam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *apha[usa]i* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prakrit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*), see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-ha*, in *lakey[ā]* and *lakevu*, *hota*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, *huvanti*, *[h]uveyā*, *huvēvu*, and in the participle *kuta*, while *bhāta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabhehāi*, *yā hāu*, *[pa]t[ī]padayehāi* and *paṭṭapāyehāi*. It is replaced by *v* before *n* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugada, see *āvutika*, *asvasēvu*, *ālādhyevū*, *chalevū*, *[p]ā[p]uncvu* and *pāpuncvū*, *yuyevū* and *yūyevū*, *lakevu*, *[va]sevū*, *huvēvu* and *huvēvū*, instead of which Jaugada reads *-āy[ui]iki*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugada have *nikhamavū* (III, 2) *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atka* (= *yathā*), *adū* and *adu* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *ya*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa vyi[a]i[ā]*, *paṭṭijit[ū]*, *bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujēni* = *Ujjayini*, *ṛijhap[ē]tā[vi]ye*, *paṭivedataveye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *n* in *v[n]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *n* in *[ul]āya* and *[utulanā]*, *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]fū* (= *kritvā*), and *n* in *katu*, *anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllable *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *vuyavadita[veye]*, *-vuyōhāka*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, and *hosati* (= *bhaviṣyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakrye* and *chaghathā*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *huda*, *heta*, *hedisa*, *hevāni*.

As in other Prakrits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *sammyā* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[ā]tsā* (= *parishat*), *anusathi*, *ālādhyevu*, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened, see *[siya]* and *siya* (= *syāt*), *du[khrya]* and *dakk[ē]yā*, *anubandh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *a* generally becomes *e*, see *Ujēmitē kute*, *[a]kha[ē]t[ī]late*, *divalate*, *mukhate*, *vijāyanate*, *ketute*, the genitives singular *atanr*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājine*, *do[ī]tye*, *[bhuy]*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[ya]so*, and *man[ō]*. *a* in *[sam]p[ū]t[ī]pāda* (?), *sa*, *esa*, ¹ *ā* in *[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *ante* = Prakrit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pāna* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamāi* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (paṇini) and *sahasuṇu* (Dhau.) = *sahasēvu* (Jau), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloka*, *bahuka*, *vachamk[a]*, *-a[m]itā[a]*, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sambodh[ī]* and *hini*, *aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākaṃ*) and *[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kīṭi*, *vadhī*, *sudhī*, *katavjatalā*, *k[am]matala*, *divālā*, *[aph]āḥā* *ti*, c.f. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*, see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened, see the genitives plural *bhaginīnam*, *gulunam*, *bhāt[ī]nām*, *[te]ṣa[m]*, *pānānam*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yūtam*, *susūtam*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]ṭisā[āni]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyāni*, *Tosāiyam*, *nitiyam*, *puṭhāyāni*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palsāya* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *te[a]* and *santīlanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[tā]d[ā]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisam* *e va*. In *hem. va* (= Skt. *ivam* *e va*) the syllable *va* of *ivam* is dropped.³ The final *m* is doubled in *hevānmeva* and *sukhammeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhāt[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[ā]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[ē]* (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuter.

² But *palsāya* and *santīlanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

³ Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ivam-eva*, Hémachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *dhāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāns* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[ə]-atleke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.) As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhūsta*, *pānālanbhu*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalantā* (= **āpa-rāntā*). [*r*][*nu*][*tā*] (= *tnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *badhana*[*n*][*uk*][*a*] (= *bandhanāntakam*), *sāpādhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha*[*n*]-*ibhi*[*yes*]*u*, *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), [*pa*]*j-upadāye*, *chreva*, [*tā*][*esa*], *munis-opagāns*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *aiñ* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yak*) *a* is elided after *e* in [*r*][*u*][*aiñ*] for *e* + *ayaiñ* (= Skt. *yāyam*).

IV GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *vr* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *ty*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugadā in *drasayitu* (IV, 1) and *Piyadi asine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*, cf. above, p. lxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened, see *atane* (= *ārtmanah*), *atānaini*, *atijyāiki* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anūṣṭhi*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryeṣu*), *asvāsānāye*, *asvāsa*[*n*][*yā*], [*a*]*svaseyu*, *asvascu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, [*a*]*lakamāni*, *palakamāna*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamati* (Jau Sep II, 1), *lathika*, *sasvatani*, *isāya* (= *iśhyāyā*), *kiti* (= *kīrti*), *pūruva* (= *pūrva*).¹ But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*][*ay*][*u*][*a*]*ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatani* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tinu* (= *trini*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa*[*n*]*yā*, *da*[*v*]*iyē*, and [*bhuyē*] suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyyē*, and *bhuyē*, cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikamtañi*, *apa-bh[aiñ]datā*, *kīlante*, *Dvānaupya*, *Pañdiya bambhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chikūda* (Jau Sep II, 5, 11) = *chikūda* (passim), the *au* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. *Anusvāra* is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vahisā*, after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau and Jau IX, 2), and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *sahyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvadāsa*, *duvāla*, *pūruva*, *svāmika*, *pāpūndā*, *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau Sep.) = *ānaneyam* (Dhau.), and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhau and Jaugadā will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *ś*, *ṣ*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *ś*, *ṣ*, respectively.

khh becomes *kh* (i.e. *kkh*) in *dukha*[*ni*] and *dukhiyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-ā*[*u*][*ike*], *-āntike*, &c.

ky becomes *kiy* in *vakye* and *chokye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kīlante*, *k[ī]lannathena*, *palikulesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamtave*, *khamisati*, [*k*][*h*][*ud*][*aiñ*], *kudakena*, *T[a]kha*[*s*][*ilāte*], *dakhāni*, &c.² *nokhatana*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

kshu becomes *khu* in *q[u]khua* (= Skt. *śukhsua*).

khy becomes *gh* in *chughatha*.

khy remains in *mokhya* (Dhau Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in [*a*][*et*], but *gin* in *anuvagina*.

jñ becomes *ju* in *lājina*, *lājine*, *juñ* in *patimā* (Dhau Sep.); *jin* or *n* in *patimā* (Jau. Sep.).

ānapāni, *ā*[*na*][*pa*][*ay*][*a*]*ti*, *ānap*[*ay*][*ta*], *natinu*.

gy becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujyā* and *y[ā]jeyā*.

dy becomes *diy* in *Pañdiya*.

ny becomes *nu* in *kilūna* and *ānāine*, but *niy* in *ānaneyam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

tp becomes *p* in [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

¹ *pūruva* presupposes an intermediate form **pūruva*, in which the *ū* of *pūruva* was shortened before the group *ruv*. The same applies to *atijayike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

- tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānān*.
ty becomes *tīy* in *atīyāyike*, *apatīye*, *ekatiyā*.
tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tīmmi*, &c.
tv remains in *tadatvāye*.
ts becomes *s* in *usafena* and *chikisā*.
tsk becomes *th* in *uḥāna*, but *th* in *uthāy[ā]*, cf above, p. lxxviii
dg becomes *g* in *uga[chha](chhe)*.
dy becomes *y* in *nyānāsi*, *j* in *aja*, [*pa*][*tpa*][*ja*]*ti*, *paṭipajyā*, *saṃpatipajati*, *sa[m]ṭi-
 pajam[i]n[r]*.
dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *du.v*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.
dhy becomes *jh* in [*n*]*yhati*, *nyhap[e]**ta*[*vu*]*yr*, *mayham*, *nighime[na]*
ny remains in [*anye*] (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *in* in *anna* (passim) and *mam[oti]*
pi becomes *t* in *asamati*, *naṣ[i]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptārah*), [*v*]*yhati*.
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.
pr remains in *prativadyanitu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.
bhy becomes *bhuy* in *āla[n]bhayaniti*, *ālabhyisū*, *āla[bh]iysaniti*, *-ibh[ī]ys[us]*.
my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṃmya-*.
rk becomes *lī* in *akkhakaṣa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*).
rg becomes *g* in *magesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.
rt becomes *t* in [*anu*]*ratati* and *anuvatsanti*, *t* in *vaṭatavya*, *lahavya*, *liti*
rth becomes *th* in *atlu* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14), *th* in *utlu* (passim) and [*nulathi*]*yau*
rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhayis[ati]*, *pavadhayisaniti*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhagāsi*
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *a[mu]chātumāmāsa*, *kamma-* (= Skt. *kaṃ mān*) and *kamama* (= *ka-*
maṃā), *dhamma*.
ry becomes *y* in [*ayisn*], but *ly* in *ānavatilyam*, *nithūlyena*, *mādhulyāye*
rv becomes *v* in *povalasi* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.
rs becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasa-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and
Piyadrasine (i.e. **darsine*, Jau. I, 9).
rsk becomes *s* in *vasa*.
rshy becomes *s* in *usāy*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kapaii*
ly becomes *y* in *kāyua*
vy remains in *samchulitavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in [*chli*]*tyar* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and
vyy in *samchulitavy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitavye* and other gerundives, *driv[ī]yau*, [*mga*]*u*, *v[ā]*
vyamjanate, *vyāpātā*, *-vyohālakā*
vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vraje*)
sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*
sī becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *śloka*),
śv becomes *sv* in *asvasanāye*, *asvasa[n]vā*, [*a*]*svasayn*, *asvasayn*, *sasvatam* and *asvatam*, but
s in *seto*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukataṃ* and *dukula*.
shkr becomes *kū* in *nikhamaṃ*, [*n*]*ikhami*, [*n*][*kha*]*m*[*i*]*s*[*n*] *nikhamisanti*, *nikhamayisami*
sktr becomes *th* in *lathika*.
shth becomes *th* in [*ch*][*th*]*tu*, *nithūlyana*, *sa[thi]*, *th* in *adhithana*
shp becomes *ph* in *uphati*.
shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.
shy becomes *s* in *issa*, *munisa*, *hovati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *chathi*
 (Dhau. Sep.), cf Māhāśāstri *chiti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *chiti* in Pāli
 As at Kalsi, *ś* becomes *k* in [*a*]*gi kamdhani*.
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithathana*, *santhutha*, *hathini*, *th* in *afhi* (Jau.
 Sep. I, 4).
str becomes *th* in *sthi*
sth becomes *th* in *chula-sthita*
sm remains in *akusmā*, but becomes *ph* in *ophe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*

ty remains in [āla]s[y]c[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

sv remains in *vaga*, but becomes *sv* in *svāmika[na]*

hm becomes *nhh* in *bambhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom masc. <i>jane</i> , &c., neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc. <i>dhāmanān</i> , &c., neut. <i>maṇḍalanān</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kāṇḍhāni</i> , y[u]t[ān]; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte[k]</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubandh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i>	
Gen. <i>jannava</i> , &c.	<i>pānānān</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasāsu</i> , &c.

Nom sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [*sampa*]t[upāda] (Dhau Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-e* instead of *-s* in the colophon of Dhau: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom sing. neut.—The termination is *-ani* in *jivani* (Dhau. and Jau I, 1) and *duvālanān* (Jau Sep. I, 2), *-a* in *-a[m]t[k[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9, Jau Sep. I, 5), *duvā[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3, Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]taviya* (Jau Sep. I, 7), *-ā* in *kafaviyatālā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloka* (Dhau Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachamk[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānānne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigna* (Dhau Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4, Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagulaku* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-vyohālaku* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpūtā* and *hālāpūtā* (Dhau II, sections B and C, Jau II, 4). As at Kālu and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vrkshu* and *prana* are used as neuters *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*

Nom. sing. <i>pujā</i> , &c.
Acc. sing. <i>yātani</i> , <i>susūsani</i>
Instr. sing. <i>śāya</i> , <i>tūlāya</i> , <i>tūlmā[ya]</i>
Loc. sing. <i>Samāpāyam</i> , <i>samīlanāya</i> , <i>paṭāye</i> , <i>[pa]ṇpādāye</i>

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achula*, *ichhu*, *likhū[a]*, *solaviya*

II BASES IN *-i*

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *tsūni*.
Loc. plur. *nātsu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *āladhi*, *tsipi*, &c.
Acc. sing. *Sambodh[i]*, *hīni*.
Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtya*

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[ē]*, [*va*]dhiye

Abl. sing. *nphaty[ā]*

Loc. sing. *Tosatiyam, nityam, puthavyam, ā[ya]tiye.*

Nom. plur. *ūhi*¹

Gen. plur. *bhoginam*

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusatht, ā[adh]i, [n]jhatt, lpi, v[ā]dhi* (Dhau IV, section I), *sudhi* (Dhau VII, section B).

Acc. sing.—The termination is -i in *kīṭi, vaḍhi* (Dhau IV, J), *sudhi* (Dhau and Jau VII, B)

III. BASES IN -u

Nom. sing. masc, fem, and neut *sāhu, sādhi[ā]*.

Nom. and acc plur. neut *bahūni*

Instr. plur. *bahūhi*

Gen plur *gūlunam.*

Loc plur. *bahusu*

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom Sing. *pitā, pita* (Jau Sep II, 10)

Gen. plur. *bhā[ri]nam.*

Loc. plur. *p[ri]ṭiḥu.*

The instr sing follows the i-declension [*p[ri]tinā, bhātinā*, likewise the nom plur. *nat[ri]. nati*, cf. Pākrit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in -at

Nom. sing. masc. *samitani, kalamtani, v[ri]patipātayanāni, [sam]patipā[ta]yam[tam]*

The base *mahat* follows the a-declension nom sing. masc *mahaṃ*

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an

Singular	Plural
Nom. masc <i>lājā, lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep II, 4)	<i>lājāne</i>
Acc. masc <i>atanam</i> ; neut <i>nāma.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājūnā, kam[ma]nā, kamana.</i>	
Dat. <i>kammane</i>	
Gen <i>atanne, lājine</i>	

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the a-declension nom. sing *kamne* acc *kamm*, gen *kammasu*

(3) Masculines in -in

Nom. sing. *Piyodasi.*

Instr sing *Piyadasiṇi*

Gen. sing *Piyadasiṇe*

Acc. plur. *kathini* (— [*ka*]thini at Kāsi)

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc sing [*ya*]so, *da[ra]ṇṇe, [bhuy]*

(5) Feminine in -d.

The base *parishad* follows the a-declension nom sing *p[ar]ā[śā], loc. [p[ar]ā[śā]ni[am]* and *pāṭis*

¹ Cf. *afavi*, above, p xci.

¹ For these two forms see above, p. lxx

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person

Singular	Plural.
Nom <i>hakam</i>	<i>maye.</i>
Acc	<i>aphe, a[ph]em</i>
Instr <i>mamayā, mamāye, mamīyaye, mī.</i>	
Abl <i>mamate</i>	
Gen. <i>mama, māmā, māmī, mī.</i>	<i>aphāka, [aph]āka, ne</i>
Loc.	<i>[aphesu], apheśū</i>

For the forms *hakam* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamīyāye*, cf. *māmāi*, Hēmachandīa, III, 104. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattah* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *māmā*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *maya*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]em* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -*a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe, phe.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe, tuphemi.</i>
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi.</i>
Gen. plur. <i>[u]phāh[a].</i>
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i>

The base **tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhi*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam*)¹. With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhi*, Hēmachandīa, III, 91. The three forms *tuphemi* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -*a*.

(3) Base *ta*

Singular.	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>te, ta</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te, ta</i>
Acc. neut. <i>tam, ta, sa</i>	
Instr. <i>tēna</i>	
Gen. <i>tasa.</i>	<i>[te]a[ti], tes[a].</i>
Loc. <i>tasi</i>	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *ta* (Jau. Sep. II, 9)

(4) Base *eta*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3), neut. <i>eta.</i>	Masc. <i>ete</i> , neut. <i>etāni</i>
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etam.</i>	
Instr. <i>[e]takam</i>	
Dat. <i>etate, etakate</i>	
Gen. <i>etasa</i>	
Loc. <i>etasi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā.*

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f, the nom. plur. masc. *ek* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *etā[ni]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

¹ With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*

(5) Demonstrative *idam*

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> , neut. <i>iyam</i> .		Masc <i>ime</i>
Acc. neut. <i>imam</i> .		
Instr. <i>imena</i> .		<i>imehi</i>
Dat. [i]m[ā]ye		
Gen. <i>imasa</i>		
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> .	
	Dat sing fem. <i>imā[ye]</i> .	

As at Kālvi, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in [e]y[am] (= Skt *yayam*, Jau Sep 1, 6)

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kim*. The acc. sing. neut. *kum* and the acc. plu. neut. *kām* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [ē][chha]), and with *chhi* = Skt *chut* (neut. sing. *kimchhi*, *kuchhi*), and *kimti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , neut. <i>e</i>		Masc <i>je</i> , <i>e</i> , neut. <i>am</i>
Acc. neut. <i>ahi</i>		
Instr. <i>ena</i>		
Gen. <i>asa</i>		
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> , <i>ā</i>	

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. [<i>anye</i>], <i>anyne</i> , neut. <i>anyne</i>		Masc <i>anyne</i> } neut <i>anyām</i>
Acc.		
Dat. <i>annāye</i> .		
Loc		<i>annesa</i>

(9) Base *sava*

Singular		Plural
Nom. neut <i>sava</i>		Masc. <i>sava</i>
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam</i>		
Instr. <i>savēna</i> , <i>savēna</i> .		
Gen <i>savasa</i>		
Loc		<i>savasa</i>

(10) Base **ekatiya*

Nom. plu. masc. *ekatiya*

1) —NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eka*, instr. sing. *ekena* *ek[ā][k[ē]]na*

Two, three, five

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxv), nom. and acc. neut. *tuani*, loc. *panchasa*

INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

d[a]śa, dvādaśa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasu, sahasesu* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4)

Literary Prakrit also uses the termination *-esuni* besides *-esu*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371

Hundred thousand

Nom. plur. *sata-saḥ[a]śāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp* *anukampati*

Root *kram* *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāmi*.

Root *gam* *gacchama*.

Root *hal* *chalay[ā]*

Root *driś* *dakṣāmi, drakṣati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū* *hoti, bhūvanti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh* *ālabhekam, lahey[ā]*

Root *vas* *[va]vā*

Root *vaś* *[va]vatatu*

Root *vas* *[a]vasasyu*.

Root *sthā* *[ch]ṛ[th]ṣtu* (from **chutṭhati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from **utthāti*)

Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *athi, athi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4)

Root *et*

The two roots *va* and *sās* follow the *a*-conjugation *yehami, annasāmi*

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu* *pajohitavye*, see above, p. lxxxii

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad* *[pa]tṣa[ya]ti*.

Root *man* *mam[ate]*

Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *ap* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpunay*)

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* *ukhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation *yujeyā* and *yūjyu, yujamti, yujyanti*

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *krī* *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalanūti*, *kalantam*, see above, p. 133vi

Ninth Sanskrit class

Root *jñā* *jāntu* and *jānīsamti* are formed from the present *jānāti*

Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *atukāmayivati*, *nikhāmayivāmi*, *dayayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *dayayitu*), *patipādāyemā*, *ālādhayamti*, *lukkhiyisāmi**, *alochayisā*, *vadhuṣisā*[a]ti, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayis* is contracted into *e* in *pativedeturvye*.

(b) With *payā* *hāpayisa*[ā]ti. In *anāpayami* and *nīkṣap*[e]ta[re]ye¹ the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhya* is shortened.²

(c) With *āpaya* *kṣānāpātāmi*, *lūkṣāpāta*, *kālāpāta*.

(d) With *pāpaya* *lopāpāta*.

(e) With *īya* *dukkhiyati* (denominative of Skt. *dukkha*)

(2) *Moods*.

(a) Indicative

1. sing. *ṣa*[a]lakamāmi, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *ichhami*, *kalāmi*, *anupayāmi*

3. sing. *anukṣipati*, [*ṣa*]lakamā[ā]ti, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *atki* and *atki*, *eti*, [*ṣa*]tipa[ā]ti *anupātipayati*, *pāpunāti*, *ukhati*, *ka*[e]ti, *vedayati*, *dukkhiyati*. The only middle form is *manu*[e]ti (Dhau. X, 1)

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class)

3. plur. *kvamti*, *ichhamti*, *kalamti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2)

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination, cf. above, p. 133v

3. plur. *nikhāmivā* with optative termination, cf. Johansson, *Shahb*, part 2, p. 89 n. 2

(c) Optative

1. sing. *ālābhekam*, *jeham*, [*ṣa*]ti[*pādīy*]ham and *patipātrīyam*, see above, p. 133vi

3. sing. *uga*[chha](*chhe*), *dakṣi*[ra] and *da*[kṣya] *nīkṣyā*[ā] (from the indicative **nīkṣati* = P. *nīkṣati*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), [*h*]uvā[ā], *vīā* and [*ya*] (= Skt. *vīat*) *patipāpya*

1. plur. *gachhemā*, *patipādīyemā* and [*ṣa*]tipātrīyem[ā].

3. plur. *chalecyā* and *chalecyu*, *hveyā*, *hveyu* and *hveyā*, *lūkṣyā* and [*lū*]kṣyā, [*ṣa*]pāpāyā and *anupayāyā*, [*ṣa*]pāpāyā and *pāpunāyā*, *jñā*[ā] and [*ya*]ti, *jñāyā* and [*ya*]ti, *ālādhayā* and *ālādhayāyā*

(d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, [*anu*]vatatu

2. plur. *dakṣatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*

3. plur. [*ṣa*]lakamamti and *palakamam*[a]ti[n], *ujamti*, *ālādhayamti*, *patipātrīyamti*

(e) Imperfect

3. sing. *a*[h]o.

¹ Cf. the subjunctive **nīkṣyā* (= **nīkṣyati*) in the root-verb VI, which is formed from **nīkṣ* (P. *nīkṣati* = Skt. *nīkṣati*) and **nīkṣyā* (P. *nīkṣyati* = Skt. *nīkṣyati*)

² But in *anupātipayati*, (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved

INTRODUCTION

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative

3 sing. [*u*]*ikhami*, 3. plur. [*u*]*ikho* [*m*]*i* [*t*]*u*.

(b) Subjunctive.

3 plur. *alohayisū*; see Text, p. 31, n. 7

III. PERFECT

3. sing. *a[hu]* (only Jau Sep II, 1) and *āhā*.

IV. FUTURE

1 sing. *havamī* and *hosāmī* (= Prākṛit *hōṣāmī*), *nikhāmayisāmī*, *likhīys[āmī]**

3 sing. *khamvati*, *kovati*, *kachhati*,¹ *atikamayisati*, *ā[na]* *p[ay]* *is[ā]* *ti*, *vadhayis[ā]* *ti*.

2 plur. *evatha* and *ehatha*, *chaghattha* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*),² *ālādhayisatha* and *ālā[dha]-*
yas[ā] *th[ā]*

3. plur. *nikhamisanti*, *anuvatsanti*, [*u*]*nu* [*ā*]*sisam* [*t*]*i*, *yupisanti*, *ka* *khamti*, *jāmsanti*, *paṇ-*
dhayisanti.

V. PASSIVE.

3 plur. indicative *ala* [*m*] *bhiyanti*

3 plur. optative *yuyū*, *y[ā]* *yeyu*, *yuyevū*, *y[ā]* *yeyu*

3 plur. aorist *ālābhīyisu*

3 plur. future *ālā[bh]* *īyisanti* and *ālā[ni]* *bhiyisā* [*n*] [*t*]*i*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3 sing. imperative *susūsatu*

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active

Root *as* *santam*

Root *kṛi* *kalanṭam*

Causative of *pad* *vipatipātayantam* and [*saupatipā*] *tu* [*yam*] *tam* (Jau Sep.).

Middle

Root *pad* *sa* [*nu*] *patipijam* [*i*] *u* [*e*], and causative [*vi*] *pat* [*i*] *padayamīnu* (Dhau Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta* *mata*, *kala* (= Skt. *kṛita*), *vuyāpata* (= *vṛyāpṛita*), *vuthaṭa* (= *vustṛita*), *usata*
(= *ustṛita*), [*n*] *isita* (= **nisṛita*), *likhita*, *likhapita*, *khānāpita*, *kālāpita*, *ālopita*, *lopāpita*, *āna-*

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1

² Cf. *sagghas* in the Suttanipata, verse 834

³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2

ṣ[ay]i[ta],¹ *kūta*, *atikanūta*, *kūlanta*, *āya[ta]* (i.e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*), *v[un]ta* (= *ukta*), *vudha* (= *vṛddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-sās*), &c

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *etavya*, *sotavya*, *katavya*, *vatavya*, *pajoktavya*, *ukhātavya* and *[icchī]tavya* (from the present *icchhati*), *chalitavya*, *sañchalitavya* and *°lucyavya*, *vatitavya*, *vṛyavadita[ṛya]* | *pativeditavya*, *ṣiṣhap[et]a[ṛ]ya*

(b) In *-aniya*: *asvāsā[n]iya*

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamstave, *ālādhāyave*, *saṃpatipadāyave* and *saṃpatipātāy[ar]e*.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE

kaṣu and *[ka]tu* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*), *anuvāsitu*, *olabhitu*, *sañchalitu*, *janitu* (from *janāti*), *palitit[un]* | (from root *tyaj*), *[rkh]i[th]itu* (from **chulthati*), *dayayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *-ditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *-dāyitrā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Magadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Girnar, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*, see *haranna* (= Skt. *haranya*, I 7) and *[ra]ā* (I 9). In the aorist *nikhāmitā* (I 5) the lingual *l* is retained, while *k* also has *nikhāmitā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vadhutha*, with dental *th*.

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A. -PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *giththa* (see above, p. lxx), in *maphima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *mu[a]* (Dhli-Mirath) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāka* ?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupana* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *mata*, *manisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *i* in *sepaka* (i.e. *śrīyaka*), which is the reading of these versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following; palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kaphika* (Dhli-Tōprā) = *kaphika* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pipīlaka*, and by *u* after original *v* in *dutīya* and *dutiva*, *dupana*, *kīnasa* (i.e. *kīnassa*) = Skt. *kīnasvat*. see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *hādisa* (Sānath, II 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *khu* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ri becomes (1) *a* in *anugahannu*, *apakatha* (= Skt. *apakhṛṣṭa*), *koti*, *kaphana* (= *kīpāna*), *daua* [*gah*]² (Queen's edict, I 3), *bhatikeva*, *vadhika* and *vadhikā* (= *vādhika*), *vadhika*, *vṛyapoti*, (2) *i* in

¹ Cf. p. lxxviii, n. 3.

² Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛhastha*) at Kalsi.

is preserved in [sa]mānādhāpayitā and sanādhāpayitā.¹ *dh* becomes *h* in *nyōgha* (= *nyagrodha*), *vadhāmi* and *upadahevi* (from *dadhāti*). For *hūa* (= *ulha* at Gīrnā) see above, p. lxvii.

ṣ is softened in *thūa* (= *sthūa*, Nigālī Sāgar, l. 2) and *hūi*² (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *hūi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kupitkā* and *kapitkā* = Skt *pupitkā*³ *bh* becomes *h* in [a]hīye, *hoti*, *hotu*, *huvati*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*, *hutha*, *husu*, and in the *-tu* plur in *-hu* (for *-bhūh*) *m* becomes *ṣ*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphali* = Skt *kamatha*, cf *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākrit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and [ta]phā (= Skt *tasmāt*) at Kālā.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyunnāmayahūi*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= *āyukti*), *vashava* (= Skt *vashaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= *sauchya*), *pōpovā* (= *prāpno* + *vat*), *yāvu*, *anugahamūi* *ādhahajevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatajevū*. It is prefixed to *i* in *jevū* and *jevū* (also *evu* and *e.vā*) but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt *yathā*), *ava* (also *yāva*, = Skt *yāvati*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ina* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped, cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nyōgha* (= Skt *nyagrodha*), *pativēkhāmi*, *dupatvēkhe*, and *ayī* becomes *e* in *phāpetavīye* (also *phāpayitavīye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *chānūda* [a-sā]r[ā] [e] (Saurāhi, l. 4)

va becomes *u* in *anuvēkhāmi*, *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *va*), *ava* and *avī* become *o* in *odāta*, *podatha*, *patyovadatha*, *patyovadasanti*, *vīyovadasanti*, *vīyohāta*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout. But *śh* is used in *vashava* (= Skt *vashaya*, Sāmāth, l. 10), *Devānampiyashā* and *shū* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *s* is represented by *ch*, cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in *hūa*, *hūda*, *hūsu*, *hūvam*. For *heta* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened, see *manūā* and *mita* (= Skt *manā*?), *pōpovā* and *pōpova*, *siyā* and *siya* *acamana* and *acamana*, *abbūta* and *abbūta*, *āva* (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened, in *āva* and *āva* (= *yāvati*), *hūi* and *hūi*, *sādhū* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxvi). Final *o* generally becomes *i*, see *it*, *surv* (= *svas*), *bhūye*, *hijane*, *vijāpatise*, *jane*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayō*, *a* in *chavdama* and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.), and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chūm* (Sāmāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bōdha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt *ivam*,⁴ Rāmpurā, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vadhū* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in *kecavā* *hecavā* (= *prajām*), *dukhāyana*, *chāvadasa*, *pinnadasam*, *patipodam*, *hūdisam* (acc. sing. fem., Sāmāth l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *pātipada* (Delhi-Muath, V, l. 6) and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kīya* (Lamiya Nandangali, II l. 1).

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened, see *kīyam* (= Skt. *kīyam* *Bhagavām* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur in *-am*, the loc. sing. fem. *trāyām*, *trayām*, *Kosambiyām*, *pinnamāyām* and the acc. sing. *nam* (= *mām*), *imam* (= *imam*), *tam* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B) *ikam* (= *ekam*) *pajyam* (= *prajām*), *dukhāyana*, *chāvadasa*, *pinnadasam*, *patipodam*, *hūdisam* (acc. sing. fem., Sāmāth l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *pātipada* (Delhi-Muath, V, l. 6) and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kīya* (Lamiya Nandangali, II l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and final *m* in *etam* *eva* (id., l. 23, Sāmāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam* *eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1) *hūdisam* *eva* (Sāmāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyamama* (= Skt *idam anyat*), *kayānameva* *hecavā*, in *hecavā* *hecavā* *hecavā*, the syllable *va* of Skt *ivam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in *-vasa-abhūta* at Delhi-Tōprā (ix times), while the remaining versions and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read *-vasābhūta*. Other instances of *a ā = ā* are *dhammanupatipiti*.

¹ Cf. *pīlandhātī* &c. in E. Muller's *Pali Grammar*, p. 34.

² This Prākrit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

³ Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

⁴ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. ⁵ Also at Delhi-Muath, V, l. 14.

dhammānusatti, *dhammāpadāna*, *dhammāpekkhā*, *apāsīnavre*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *sañghathass* and *-opadānathōye* (Delhi-Tōpā, VII, ll 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *ai* of *tuphākai* and *upāsakānam* is treated in the same manner before *antikam* in *tuphāk-antikam* and *upāsakān-antikam* (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *stike* (= Skt *śhāikā*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ch eva*, and *chay-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *t*, *n*, *e* and *o* of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *lhy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *shy* (which becomes *ṣy*), *sv* (which becomes *ṣv*), *shy* (which becomes *ṣy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened, see *ata-* (= Skt. *atman*), *asvatha* (= *āsasta*) *anusatti* (= *anusāsti*), *ālatika* (= **āladika*), *kinasu* (for **kinā + su* = Skt. *śvad*), *pata* (= **prāpta*), *maga* (= **mārga*), *madava* (= **māda*), *mahamata* (= *mahamātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamuni* *isyā* (= *trishyā*), *-vutiyika*¹ (for **vūyika*), *dusa* (= *dāshya*), *puṇṇanāṣṣiyāni*. But the length remains in *anapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *pāpūvā*), *mahāmāta* (for **mātra*), *palikā* (for *parikā*). While long *i* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmini* and *bhikkhūṇani*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *timu* (= *tim*). Similarly, *anusathuni* and *devanani* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathūni* and *devanāni*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvādhīyanti*, *sukhiyānā*, *kapilika*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvādhīyanti*, *sukhiyāna*, *bhuy*, *kipitika*, cf. above, p. cxii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *ācāka* (= *ācāya*), *dakkhā* (also *dakkhā*, i.e. *dakkhū*), *putāpapotike*² (for *putāpota*) *puṇṇasānu* (for *puṇṇasā*), *kicchhi* (for **kud + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nilakhiyati* (for *nilā*), *nilakhiyati* (also *nilā*) at Rāmpurā, V, l. 9), *vadhīsati* (also *vadhīsati*, i.e. *vaddhīsati*), *sampatipajisati* (also **jisati*) *anupatipajisati*, *anū[a]tipajisati* (for *anupatipajisati*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambū* (= Skt *āmra*), *atikāntāni*, *Kosambiyam* (= *Kaṇṇambiyam*), *Devānampiyā*, while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bāhūna* (= *bāhūna* at Girmā). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thalba* (Rummindei, l. 3) = *thambha* (Delhi-Tōpā) in *sayame* and *savvabhōge* (also *samvayam* and *samvabhōge*), in *evāsāye* (but not in *atthamvāye*) and in *savvāsati*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *ṣisati*, *puṇṇavāsati*, and *sadvāsati*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*). In *asvānuyāyate* (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt *a*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvcha*, *duvādeva*, *sadvāsati*, *svre*, *u* in *dasampatipajisati*, *laghanti* (for **alaghanti*), *sachaye* and *sachave*, and frequently *i* as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *ṣr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *r* respectively.

llh becomes *lh* (i.e. *llh*) in *dakkhiyanam*

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *puta*, *vutaveti*, *vayata*.

ly remains in *Sakyamuni* (Rummindei, l. 2).

lsh becomes *jh* in *ghoparistavre*,³ but *lh* everywhere else.

lhy becomes *lhy* in *nilakhiyati*, *lh* in *dupatrevlke* and *bh[ā]khati*, *gh* in *chaghati*

lhy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mukhya*, but is assimilated in *mukha* (Delhi-Tōpā, VII, l. 27)

¹ This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u* **suyika*; cf. above, p. cxii, n. 1. In the Magadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vriddhi of the first syllable, see *putāpapotike* and *hulatika*, but *ānūgahika*. In *antatika*, *adhā[kos]ika*, *chandanasūyika* we cannot say whether the *u* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chandvya*, which was formed from Skt. *chanda* with the affix *-ya*. In *nithalya* and *puṇṇanāṣṣiyam* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *nāśchthuryam* and *puṇṇanāṣṣyam*, with Vriddhi of the first vowel.

² The Sārnāth pillar (section C) has *putāpapotike*.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindei, l. 1).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

- khi* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt *khale*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
chy becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochav*¹
jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *mn* in *chhindamāni* and *vimnapayitavye*, *n* in *ānapayati*, *anapita*, *natkā*, *nātra*.
ñch becomes *mn* in *pamnavāsati*, *pamnadāsā* and *pamnalāsā*, but remains in [*pa*]mcha[*das*] (Allahabad-Kōsam).
dy becomes *dīy* in *chandiye*.
dv becomes *duv* in *sadivāsati*.
nm becomes *nm* in *asammāyike*.
tk becomes *k* in *ukusā*.
tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt *ātman*).
ty remains in *patyāsana*, but becomes *ty* in *patyāsana* (Delhi-Tōpiā), and *ch* in *agācha*, *pachapagamahe*, *sache*.
tv becomes *v* in *usapāpīte*.
ts becomes *s* in *usāha*.
tsy becomes *chh* in *machhe*.
db becomes *b* in *ubāhke*.
dy becomes *j* in *anupatipajanti*, &c.; *dīy* in *khādiyati*, *day* in *duṣampatiṭṭhāyā*.
dr becomes *d* in *chandaṃsa-*.
dv becomes *d* in *dupada*, *duṭṭiya* and *duṭṭiya* but *duv* in *duvhi*, *duvādasa*.
dhy remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhy* in *avadhya* and *jh* in *maghamā*, *nyhatiyā*, *nyha-*
payitave, *nyhapayita*, *nyhapayisanti*.
dhr remains in *dh[ḥ]ravye* (Delhi-Mirath), but becomes *dh* in *dhucīy* and *adhi* (pillar-
 edict V, 11)
ny becomes *nu* or *n* in *anna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III 11)
pt becomes *t* in [*ga*]t, *goll* (= Skt. *gōṣṭi*), *nikhūtā*, *nyhatiya*, *pati* (= *pi* *āpta*), *vata* (= *vapta*,
 1. klu-Tōpiā, VII, 1 31)
ph becomes *p* in *pāpova*.
bhy remains in *abhyunnamayham* and *abhyunnamāsati*, but becomes *hy* in [*ḥa*]hi;
bh becomes *bh* in *palibhāvayānu*.
mā becomes *ma* in *lummā-* (Rummindī, 1 4)
mr becomes *mā* (for *mbi*) in *ambā-* (= Skt *āma*)
yy becomes *yy* in *ācāyāye* and [*sa*]mnamdhāpayiya.
rg becomes *g* in *magasa* and *vaga*.
rgs becomes *g* in *magasasa*.
rgl becomes *lagh* in *laghamti* (for *alaghamti*)
nn becomes *nn* in *panna* (pillar-edict V, 13) and *punnamāsāyānu*.
rt becomes *t* in *pacatayānu*, but *t* in *katayya*, *katata*, *palibhata*, *apahatā*.
rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōpiā, VII, W and OO), but *th* in *atha* (passim)
rd becomes *d* in *chalhulane*, *chodasa*, *chavādavā*, *madav*.
rāh becomes *dh* in *vadhuti*, *vadheya*, *vadhutā*, *vadhisati*, *vadhita*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhihi*.
sm becomes *mm* in *kammāni*, *chatummāni*, *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauriya-Arāraj, II, 1 3)
sy becomes *hy* in *nithūye*, *patyovadātha* and *patyovadāsanti*, *-salyike* (Delhi-Tōpiā VII,
 1 31), but *sy* in [*sā*]r[*i*]r[*le*] (Sauchi, 1 4)
rl becomes *t* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitavye*.
rv becomes *v* in *punnāvānu* and *sava*.
rs becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.
rsh becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.
rshy becomes *sy* in *ryā*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).
ly becomes *y* in *kuyāna*, *sayaka* and *vjaka* (= Skt. *salyaka*).

¹ Three versions of the pillar edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23 241) identifies with Pali *sochiyya* (= Skt. **sauchya*).

vy becomes *vya* in *vyāñjanena*, *vīyata*, *vīyāpata*, *vīyovadisamti*, *vīyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-tavya*.

vy becomes *v* in *paravṛtānam*.

vy becomes *v* in *patibhasayasiñ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhrasyati*).

śl becomes *śis* in *nimśi[dha]ya* (= Skt. **nīśīśkakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

śr becomes *śr* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āsvata*), *vīśvamsayitave* (infinitive of *vīśvāsayati*), *svu* in *suru* (= *śukh*), *s* in *sata*.

skt becomes *th* in *vandithā* and *kuthā*, *th* in *atha-bhāgiye*, *athamī*, *apakathesu*, *tutthāyatan[ā]ni*, *pativisitham*, *dh* in *adha* [*Lo*] *jikyami* and *nimśi[dha]yā*.

skth becomes *th* in *nithuliye*

skp becomes *p* in *chatupada*

skp becomes *p* in *dupativakkhe*

sky becomes *sy* in *tisyam*; *vy* in *tisyam*, *s* in *tisāyam* and *tisāye*, *duśānti*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pusyati*) *munsa* (= *manushya*), *hosamti* and other futures, *h* in *hohamti*.

st becomes *th* in *athī*, *annathi*, *avatha* (= Skt. *asvasta*), *thaiñbhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavatha-hsamti*

sth becomes *th* in *gutha* (= Skt. *grīhastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*,¹ *th* in *anathika* and *-thitika* or *-thitika*.²

sv becomes *su* in *asmarva* (from *ā-sm*)

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

vy becomes *vy* in *svā* (= Skt. *svāt*), *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*, *h* in *dāhasiti*

hv becomes *hu* in *annagahuvu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuter in *-a*.

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>janu</i> &c, neut <i>dānu</i> , &c	Masc <i>pulīśā</i> , &c
Acc masc <i>janam</i> , &c, neut <i>dānam</i> &c	Masc <i>pulīsāni</i> } neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c
Inst <i>dhammuna</i> , &c	<i>akālāhi</i> , <i>pulimchi</i> . ¹
Dat <i>athavi</i> , &c	
Gen <i>janava</i> , &c	<i>pānānam</i> , &c
Loc <i>janasi</i> , &c	<i>athasu</i> , &c.

Nom sing neut — In [*da*] *nā* (Delhi-Mirath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*

Inst sing — The final *a* is lengthened in *usākenā* *bhuyena*, [*a*] *hancuā*

Gen. sing — The final *a* is lengthened in *asvaśā*, *gonasā*, *pānapaduvā*, *Pevānampiyasha*, *lokasā*.

Nom plur masc — The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *ayata*, *kata* *pūpta*, *mahām[ā]* [*a*] (Kausambi edict, l. 1), *lapāka*. The Vedic termination *-āsah* is preserved in *vīyāpatāse* (Delhi-Topia, VII, ll. 25, 27)

Nom plur neut — The final *i* is lengthened in [*ha*] *pītaravyani* (Delhi-Mirath, V l. 8) The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter *thambhāni*, *nīkāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *nyamāni*, *mokhami* *tinmi* *dravāni* and *etāni* *dravāni* (acc.).

¹ With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiranjivin* and *chirantana*.

² In *chila-thitika* (Delhi-Topia, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitika* (Allahabad-Kosam, II, l. 3).

³ From *pulma* = Pali *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural
Nom. <i>icchā</i> , &c.	<i>vadikyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>paṇam</i> , &c.	
Inst. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vahsāye</i> , <i>avahimsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakṣināye</i> , <i>dāḥṣināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>duḥyāye</i> , <i>duhyāye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tiśāyam</i> , <i>tiśāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>pāmnadasāye</i> , <i>patipadāy</i> [e] ¹	<i>tiśāsu</i>

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apikha*, *avadhya*, *rya*, *kopika*, *kālapita*, *patika*, *daya*, *palana*, *likhāpita*, *vadhita*, *viyata*, *sātika*, *sukhīṇava*

Acc. sing.—The termination is -a in *p[ā]tipadā* (Dulhi-Minath, V, l. 6)

Inst. sing.—The termination is -āya in *asāya*, *anulapāya*, *kāmatāya*, *palikhāya*, *virudhāya*, *sukhāyanāya*, *susūsāya*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Girnār, Dhavli, and Jangada, in *asāya*, *kāmatāya*, *palikhāya*, *virudhāya*, *susūsāya*

II. BASES IN -i

(1) Masculines and neutrals in -i

Nom. sing. masc. *vadhi*, *Sakyamuni*, acc. plur. neut. *tuṇi*, loc. plur.

The feminine base *anuvathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anuvathini* with the termination of the neuter

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī

Singular	Plural
Nom. <i>vadhi</i> , <i>dhātī</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipiṇi</i> , <i>vadhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B) <i>anupatipati</i>	
Inst. <i>vadhīyā</i> , <i>anupatipatīyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupatipatīyī</i> , <i>dhātīyī</i> , <i>devīyī</i>	
Gen. <i>Kāṇvakīyī</i> , <i>devīyī</i> and <i>devīyī</i> .	<i>bhī[ḥ]kū[ḥ]yāni</i> , <i>devīna</i> .
Loc. <i>tiśyam</i> , <i>tiśyam</i> , <i>Kosambiyam</i> <i>pūmnamasīyam</i> , <i>chātummasīyam</i>	<i>bhī[ḥ]kū[ḥ]yāni</i> <i>tiśu</i>

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhini*, *sukali*, *duḥi* (also *duli*) *lipi* (also *līpi*)

Inst. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvathīya* (al o *anuvathīyā*)

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u

Sing.	Pl.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikkhu</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>sādhu</i> and <i>sadhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> , neut. <i>bahu</i>	Neut. <i>bahūni</i>
Gen.	<i>[bhī[ḥ]kū[ḥ]i</i> <i>u</i>]
Loc. <i>pūmnasūni</i> , <i>bahūni</i>	<i>gulusu</i> <i>bahūsū</i>

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -u

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -u

Nom. sing. <i>apahata</i> and <i>apahata</i> <i>nijhapayita</i>
Gen. sing. <i>mātu</i>
Loc. plur. <i>pitisu</i>

¹ As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *patipad* has assumed the form *patipata*. Cf. Hānashindri.

² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tiśishu*.

INTRODUCTION

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom sing masc *santam, anupatipajantam*, cf. above, p. cx

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*

Nom sing masc *kīyam* and *kīya* (Lauṛiyā-Nandagarh), *Bhagavan* The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension nom. sing masc. *āvate* (Saināth, l. 9)

(3) Masculines and neuter in *-an*

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>lāya lāya</i>	<i>lājāne</i>
Acc neut <i>nana</i>	<i>kanmāni</i>
Instr <i>atana, atana, lājina.</i>	<i>lājiki</i>

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension

(4) Masculines and neuter in *-in*

Nom sing masc *Piyadasi*, instr sing *Piyadasina*, nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni*

The final *i* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad Kōsam version while all others read *Piyadasi*

(5) Masculines and neuter in *-as*

Acc sing. neut. *bhuvā*

The masculine *chandama-* (= Skt *chandamas*) and the neuter *ayya-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *aymana-* follows the *a*-declension nom. plur. masc. *aymanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *aymana*

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person

Nom sing *haham*

Acc sing *mam*

Instr. sing *mamajā* and *mamya-* *mama* and *mama, me.*

Gen. sing *mama, me*

(2) Pronoun of the second person

Nom plur. *tuphr*, gen plur. *tuphakam*

(3) Base *ta-*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc and neut <i>ta</i> ¹	Masc <i>te</i>
Acc neut <i>taṁ, se</i>	Neut <i>tāni</i>
Instr. <i>tena</i>	
Gen.	<i>tesam, tānam</i>
Loc	<i>tesu.</i>

Acc. sing. fem. *taṁ.*

Dat. sing. fem. *tāye.*

(4) Base *na-*

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*, see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4

(5) Base *āta*

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc <i>esa</i> , neut <i>eva</i> , <i>esa</i>		Masc <i>eh</i>
Acc. neut. <i>etam</i>		Neut <i>etam</i>
Instr <i>etena</i>		
Dat <i>etāye</i> .		
Loc		<i>eha</i>
		Nom. sing fem. <i>esa</i>

(6) Demonstrative *ātam*

Nom. sing neut. *iyam*; nom. plur masc *im*, neut *imān*, nom. sing fem *iyam*, acc *iman*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun

The base *kī* forms the acc sing neut *kīm* (in *kimti*), *kimam* or *kimmam* (see Text, p. 129, n. 7) and the instrumental **kīmā* (in *kīmaṣu*, i.e. **kīmavsu* = Pali *kīmaṣu* and Skt. *kīmaṣvat*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative nom. plur neut *kām* (in *potake cha kām*, see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc plur masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *p* (= Skt *ap*) or *chi* (= Skt *chad*) instr sing. *kenapi*, nom plur neut. [*k*] *januhi*

(8) Relative pronoun

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc and neut <i>yā</i> , <i>i</i>		Masc <i>y</i> neut <i>iān</i>
Instr <i>yena</i> , <i>ena</i>		
		Nom. sing fem <i>yā</i> .

(9) Base *anya*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc <i>anne</i> , neut [<i>a</i>] <i>une</i> , <i>ana</i>		Masc <i>anne</i> , neut <i>annān</i>
Gen		<i>annānam</i>
Loc		<i>annasu</i>

The gen plur *annanam* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvii) of *tanu* for *tesam* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *atman* at Mān-chū and the dat sing fem *toye* (above p. cxviii), *mayā* and *imā* [*y*]e at Gīrīnā. Kāśī, and Dhauhi, *maye* at Mān-chū.

(10) Base *anta*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc <i>sare</i>		
Loc <i>saratu</i>		<i>saratu</i>

D—NUMERALS

One

Nom. sing. masc *ikike* (= Skt *ikaikah*), fem *ikā*, acc sing fem *ika* *u*

Two

Instr. masc *divehi* (from the base *dva*) The base *dva* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutva* or *dutya*, and in the compound *dupada*

INTRODUCTION

Three, four, six

Acc neut *trims*, loc fem *trisu* The bases *chatur* and *dash* form part of the compounds *chatrapati* and *āśamaśaka*

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen

dvādaśa and *dvaś[ā]ś[ā]*, *chodāśa*. The ordinals *chāyudāśā* and [*pa*] *mcha*[*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kosām), *pānuadāśa*, *pānuadāśā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśi* and *pañchadaśi*

Twenty, &c

vīśati, *pānuvīśati*, *sadvīśati*, *satavīśati*

Hundred thousand.

Loc plu *sata-sahasānu*

I.—CONJUGATION

I PRESENT

(1) *Base*.

First Sanskrit class

Root *agh* (= Skt. *ark*) *aghānti* for **aghaṅtī*, cf Skt. *ngṇu* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Laufer, SPAW, 1913 997

Root *aksh* *patyakhāmi*, *annakhāmānu*

Root *dris* *dekhati*

Root *bhū* *hoti*, *hivati* (sixth class)

Root *vad* *pativvadathu*

Root *vah* *āvahāmi*

Root *vudh* *vudhati*

Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *athi*

Root *i* *eti*

Root *ia* *yāti*

Root *sās* *ann[ā]śānu* (subjunctive)

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dha* *vudahāmi*, *upadahānu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation)

Fourth Sanskrit class

Root *paś* *anupaśyajanti*, &c

Root *pusṣ* The gerundive *pusitavya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pusṣyati*

Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *āp* *pāpota*

Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ukh* The aorist *ukhsu* and the gerundive *ukhitavya* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ukhhati*

Root *kship* *nikhīpātha*.

Root *siy* absolute *nisyitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisyati*)

Ninth Sanskrit class

Root *grāh* follows the *a*-conjugation *anugahinevu*

Root *jñā*. The future *jānīṣanti* and the infinitive *ājāntave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *abhyinnūmaycham*, *saṃpatipādāyanti*, *pāyaminā* (from *pīyati* = *pājeti*, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *prati*), *palibhasayissam* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt *bhrāṣyati*, see Michelson, IF, 23, 263), *ālādhaṣevu*, *āvāsāyiv*, *uvāsāyātha*, *paṭi[vedāyanti]**, *paratāyevū*, *uvvāsāyāntave*.

(b) With *paṇa* *jhāpayitavve* and *jhāpetaviv* (from root *kṣai*) The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *uvvīnapayitavve*, *saṃādāpayitave*, *ujjhāpayissanti*, *ujjhāpayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* *kālāpita*, [*sā*] *ūnanīdhāpayivā* and *sanānīdhāpayitu* (from root **nadh* = Skt *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]* *petaviv[et]*, *uvvīāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* *lopāpita*, *usāpāpita*, cf. *Ardhamāgadhī usāyiv* (= **uchhkrāpita*) in Pischel's *Gramm.* 1, § 64, and Skt *uchhkrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpita* in E. Muller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *thapāpita* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *darāpita* in Pischel's *Gramm.* 1, § 552.

(e) With *apāpaya* *khānāpāpitāmi*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives *tilita* and *tilita* (from Skt. *tiṣyati*), *sukhaṇṇite*, *sukhaṇṇā*, *sukhaṇṇā*, *dukkhaṇṇā*, *mahiṇite*.

(2) *Moods*.

(a) Indicative

1. sing. *pativakkhāmi*, *vidakkhāmi*

3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vadhati*, *atthi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*

3. plur. *laṅghanti*, *dekkhanti*, *saṃpatipādāyanti*, *paṭi[vedāyanti]**

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvakkhāmi*, *anuss[ā]sāmi*, *savāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6)

2. plur. *nikkhipātha*, *paṭiyovadātha*, *uvvāsāyātha*, *uvvāsāpayāthā*

(c) Optative

1. sing. *abhyinnūmayecham*, cf. above, pp. lxxvii, cix

3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anv[ā]pāpaya*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *pāpno-*), *vadhēyā*.

3. plur. *yavv*, *upadahevv*, *anugahinevv*, *ālādhaṣevv*, *paratāyēv*.

(d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, 3. plur. *anupatipajantv*

II. *MOODS*

3. sing. middle. *huthā*, *vadhithā*

3. plur. active *huvu*, *ichhuvu*

III. *PERFECT*.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated, see Michelson, IF, 23, 244

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam* Cf *likhāpayisam* at Girmār.

3. sing. *abhyūnamisati*, *vadhīsati* and *vadhīsati*, *anupāpaysati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt *padyat*), *saṃpatipaysati* and **payati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1)

3. plur *patichalsanti*, *vadhisanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *palyovadsanti*, *viyovadsanti*, *pavithalsanti* (from root *strī*), *dāhanti*, *chaghanti*, *kachhanti*, *jānisanti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nyhapaysanti*

V. PASSIVE

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nilakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).

3. plur indicative *anuvadhiyanti* and **dhiyanti*

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *śāntani*, *anupatipejanīni*.

Middle *anuvrekhamāne*, *pāyamīnā*

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta mata* (Delhi-Göprä) and *mata* (= Skt. *mata*), *lata*, *vyāpata*, *līlita* and *līlita*, *mahiya*, *sukhayita*,¹ *anapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikanta*, *āyata* (i e *ayatta*), *nīkhita* (= *nīkshipta*), *vyāyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *baddha* (i e *baddha*), *mīludha* (= *mīludha*), *āludha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *pāpita*), *apakatha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na anāp[ā]tipānina*, *patyāsanna* and *patyāsānina*, *dsīna* (for **dsidna*, see Fischei's *Grammatik*, p. 386)

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *hamitaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataaviya*, *kataviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vināpayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshati*), *vā[śā]petaviya* In *nilakhitaviya* (= **nīlakshayitaviya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhiya* and *avādhiya*, *dupatirekha*, *dsanāpāpādāya*, *āvāsāya* (for **āvāṣāya*).²

VII. INFINITIVE

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palikatave*, *patichalave*, *ājāmitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *vusvāmsayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nyhapayitave*

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tvā sutu* (= Skt *śrutvā*), *nītyitū* (from the present *nītyati*), *sanādhāpayitū*

(b) In *-ya āgūcha* (= *āgutyā*), *[sa]nnādhāpayā*³

¹ In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *anapayite* at Kāśī, *[anapayit]* at Mānsarā, and *anāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhauri.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*, cf the preceding note.

³ Cf the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vadhists* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vadhisati* (Sahasrām and Barāt), cf. Saurasēni *bhaviṣṣati*, &c., in Hc̣machandīa, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *lutā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gūlava* (= Prakṛit and Pālī *garava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*, see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ra becomes (1) *a* in *katā*, *dakṣitaviye*, *vadhi*, (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mrishā*), *sun[e]yu*, (3) *i* in *adhiguchya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *drisyati*). In *adhata[y]a* (= Pālī *adhatta*) and Skt. *ardhatsṛīya*) the syllable *trī* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *addhāya*, see Geiger's *Pālī*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pālī *adubbuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-thitiki*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *eva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, [*hkhāpa*]yāthā, *h[a]mā*, *eteni(na)*, *apaladhiyena*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *sanghasi ti*, *hosati ti*, *jānamti ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *npadhū[a]yeyu*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth), interconsonantal *i* and *u* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *jambudīpasī* (= **dīpasī* at Sahasrām), *pa[ko]mam[r]mna* (cf. *palakamaminuā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavāsati* (Barabar), final *ā* and *i* in *lāja* (Barabar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Barāt), *sata* (Rupnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pi[s]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Barāt) = *Piyadasi* (Barabar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *aps*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kinti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānim*), *va* and *vi* (= *iva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhiguchya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *γ* in *diyadhiya* (= **dvakardhiya*).¹ *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barabar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbhā*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κόμβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.²

Lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Barāt in *Ahya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaśaṇi*).

¹ Cf. *diyadha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

² The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancient Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaufa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *udāla* (= Pāli *ulāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvādasa*, and after *ṣ* in *kaṣā*, *vaḍhi*. *i* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛīya*) *dh* seems to be preserved in *ka(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Gīrnār?), but has become *h* in [*ugoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrodha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāṭ[a]ṭaṣe* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpats* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosati*, *husu*, *divchi*, [*āpre*] *kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aiu* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*ugoha*] (= *nyagrodha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *tekhāpeta*, *lāli* (*khāpeta* *vaya*, *āvāḥe* (read *āvādheta*)) and [*ā*] *lādheta* [*v*] *abhivāde* [*n*] *nam*.

As in the Māgadhā dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *āvādheta* (read *āvādheta*), *chira-thitke*, *chha(sa)vachhara*, *sāti* [*ra*] *kelāni* (read *sāterkelāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, [*sa*] *pre* [*ki*].

v becomes *p* in *apaladhīya* (Rūpnāth) = *ava* [*a*] *dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *evutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy* [*u*] *tha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovade*, *hotu*, *hosati*.

ś and *ṣh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *śake* (= Skt. *Śakyak*) and is improperly used at Banāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth), *śh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā* [*n*] *In* [*cha*] *ky* and *chakiyr*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevam*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saiṭa* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l 2 f) as becomes *e*, see *pure*¹ (= Skt. *purāṣ*), *bhikhunye* (nom. plur.), *athe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *vā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in [*a*] *thāta* (?), *eva* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *āḷata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *cham* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l 2), while final Anuvāra is omitted in *ima*, *ya*, *tupaka* (for *tuphikam*), *diyadhīya* (Rūpnāth), *prukāsa*, [*ba*] *dha*, *vaḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *saḥ* [*a*] (acc.) The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-i*, see *phale*, &c. The termination *-avī* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll 1, 2), cf. *ayi* for *ayam* at Shāhbūzgarh.² The long nasal vowel *ām* is shortened in the termination (*-am*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dam* (= Skt. *idānim*).

(3) SANDHIS

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaimevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + ā becomes *a* in *vasābhūta*, *sāṭike*, *sāḍhi* [*ke*], *ap* [*ā*] *badhataṇi*, *ja* [*lagh*] *o* [*sāgama*] (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in [*āgama*] *thāta* (?), *apaladhīyenā* and *ava* [*a*] *dhiyenā*, *diyadhīyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyadhīyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *n*, *e*, *v* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma* [*ha*] *tan eva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *ṣv*, *cy*, *ṣṭ*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) *pa* [*la*] *kamanitu* (= *parākra*³), *palakumamīnena*, [*palaka*] *mī* [*t*] *e*, *mahata* (= *mahatman*), *śaki* and [*śa*] *k* [*r*] (= *Śakyak*), *abhikhnam* (= *abhikṣnam*). But the length remains in *p* [*a*] [*ā*] *kame* (Sahasrām), *p* [*ā*] *potava* (from *p* [*ā*] *pnōti*), *lāti* (= *sāti*), *sūte* (= *sūtam*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v* [*ā*] *ṭave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *ām* is shortened before consonants in [*palaka*] *mī* [*t*] *e*³ and *Devānāmpīya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāmpīya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhāṇte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddante*⁴ = Skt. *bhadrāni* *te*, 'happiness to you', the syllabic *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *īm* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anuvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*, see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *anitā* (Sahasrām and

¹ The same form is used in Arabic and Pāli. Cf. also [*ṣ*] *nik* at Kāṣi, l. 1, 3.

² Also Pāli *saddham* = Skt. *śāḍham*. Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 2.

³ The Anuvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prakṛāntak*).

⁴ See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhaddante*. According to Hémachandra, IV, 287, *bhāṇte* is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of *bhaddanta*.

Bairāt), *th[abh]e* (but *th[ā]bhāsi* and *thāi[bh]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), *[pala]kamatu* (Buat) = *pa[la]kamantu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyājanēna*), *Ahiya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vamsāhi*), *saghe* (= *saiṅgha*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sa[ā]chhale* (= *sauvatsarāhi*) The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in *[m]isam-deva* and *ahimsam-[dē]vā* (read *ami**)

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *s[u]ag[ē]*, *sumi*, *a* in *alahāmi*, *lū(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajamā*, and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c

kt becomes *t* in *abhista*, &c.

ky remains in *[cha]kye* (Bairāt), but becomes *kry* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sak* (= Skt *śakyah*), *Saka* and *[Sa]k[ē]* (= *Śakyah*).

kr becomes *k* in *pakamati*, *pa[la]kamantu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhunye*, *dakṣitarīye*¹

kshn becomes *khni* in *abhiṅghanāni*

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt *khala*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2

g becomes *g* in *[nigoha]* (= Skt. *nyagādhū*).

jū becomes *jin* in *lōjina*.

ūch becomes *u* in *sapannā* = Skt *śatpañcāsāt*, cf *paññadasā*, &c, in the pillar-edict V.

tp becomes *p* in *sapannā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*

tm becomes *t* in *mahāta* (= Skt *mahātman*)

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt *adhikītya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sāte*, *hetā*

tv becomes *t* in *mahātātā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*)

ts becomes *ch* in *chha(su)vachhar* and *sv[ā]chhal*.

tsth becomes *th* in *[uthānāni]*.²

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dal]e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *d* in *Jambudīpasi*, *diyadhiyam*

pn becomes *p* in *p[ā]patare* (from Skt *pāpātā*)

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rupnāth) and in *abhīpīetam*, *prāśade*, *P[ā]r[ā]yadas[ā]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) but becomes *p* in *Piyadasi*, &c, and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *pāśu* (?), see Gey's *Palt*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *vage*

rth becomes *th* in *atha*, and perhaps *th* in *[ā]thāta* (?)

rdh becomes *dh* in *adhata[ya]ni*, *vadhisati* and *adhivasi*

rdhy becomes *dhyi* in *apaladhiyenā* and *ava[ā]dhiyenā*, *dhyi* in *diyadhiyam*

rm becomes *m* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *iy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *arya*) and *palyāya*

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pa. ata* and *parvats[u]*

rc becomes *c* in *Piyadasi*.

rsh becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2), *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatam*.

vy remains in *vy[ā]thenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakṣitarīya*, *vatarīya*, *vivasa tava(vi)[pa]*, and *vay* in *lū(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sn* in *pasine* (= Skt. *pāśinah*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *disyā*.

śt becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvaṇe*

sth becomes *th* in *vy[ā]tha* (Rūpnāth), *th* in *vivatha* (Sahasrām)

shm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākani*, as at Sāmāth)

shy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *muvā*, *vadhisati* and *vadhivasi*, *hosati*

sth becomes *th* in *athi* and *thāi[bh]ā* (Sahasrām), *th* in *thā[m]bha* (Rupnāth)

sth becomes *th* in *chra-thutke* and *chila-thutik*.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf above, p. ciii

sm becomes *shm* in *shmi* (= Skt. *asmī*), *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*), *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *su[ag[e]* (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neutrals in *-a*.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>athe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c., neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>saṅghāni</i> , &c., neut. <i>vipulani</i> , &c.	<i>devhi</i> .
Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.	<i>[ājīva]kēhi</i> .
Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>athāya</i> , <i>ath[ā]jī</i> .	
Abl. <i>mahatā</i>	
Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dro[ā]na[n]piyasa</i>	
Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.	<i>parvatesu</i> .

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(h)khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *saṅgh[ā]* (for *saṅghāni*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhīyenā*, *ava[ā]dhīyenā*, *-abhiṣṭenā*, *pa[ā]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamaminenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[ū]thenā*.

At Barābai we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e* *su[p]ā[y]e*.

The final *a* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vanśa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vanśani*, *[saṁvatskalāni]*, with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivanthā*, at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-a*

Nom. sing. *lubbā*, *dinā*, acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhakam*, *phāsu-vihālatam*, nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*

Acc. sing. *radhi*, nom. plur. *bhikkhūṇīye*, loc. plur. *parvatā[u]*¹

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalasītasi*, instr. sing. *bhagavatā*, nom. plur. *saṁhita* (for either *saṁtā* or *saṁhite*).

(5) Masculines in *-au*

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*, instr. sing. *lājīnā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*

(6) Masculine in *-in*

Nom. sing. *Piyadasi*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*, instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakāni*.

Instr. sing. *mumayā*, *hamiyaye*, *[me]*

Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*

¹ The feminine *parvatī* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Tastisriya-Saṁhitā*, see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom **ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr *hamiyāye* cf *mamiyāye* at Jaugada.

(2) Pronoun of the second person

Dat plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), which is used for the nom at Maski (l. 7), gen. plur. *tupāka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākaṇ* (Sarnāth)

(3) Base *ta*

Nom. sing. masc and neut *se*, acc sing neut. *ta[m]*, *se*, nom plur masc. *te*

(4) Base *etā*.

Nom sing. neut *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]*, instr sing [*etena*], *ekeni(nā)*, *etunā*, dat sing *etāye*, *etiya*, acc plur neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etunā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth of the gen. sing *etisa* in the two Khairashthi versions of the rock-edicts, and *etiskā* at Kālsī

(5) Demonstrative *idam*

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>iyā[m]</i> , <i>iya</i> , neut <i>iyam</i>	Neut. <i>imāni</i>
Acc masc <i>ima</i> , neut. <i>imāni</i>	
Dat. [<i>i</i>]māya	
Nom. sing fem. <i>iyam</i> .	

(6) Interrogative pronoun

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kimti* or *kitti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kicchi* (nom sing. neut.)

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing masc and neut *e*, acc sing. neut. *ya*, *aii*, nom plur masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarīa*

Nom. sing. neut. *sarīe*

D. NUMERALS

Two nom. neut *dive*

Twelve *duvādasa*.

Nineteen *ekunavīsati*

Fifty-six *sapaññā*. For *paññā* = Skt *pañcāśat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik* § 445

Hundred *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.)

E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT

(a) Indicative

1 sing. *alakhāmi*, *sumi*, *icchāmi*, *likhā[pa]yami*

3. sing. *athi*

(b) Subjunctive.

2 plur [*likhāpa*]yāthā.

(c) Optative.

- 3 sing *adhigachh[er]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).
 3 plur *sun[er]u (= shune[er]u at Kālsī), upadhāl[a]reyā.*

(d) Imperative.

- 3 sing *hotu*
 2 plur *lekhapeta, [ikhāpayatha]*
 3 plur *palamatu* (for **manitu*), *palakamanitu, jānanitu.*

(2) AORIST. 3. plur. *husu.*(3) PERFECT. 3. sing. *āhā.*

(4) FUTURE

- 3 sing *hosati, vadhisati* and *vadhisi.*

(5) PARTICIPLES

(a) Present Participle

- Active *kalamtam, sūita* (nom plur)
 Middle *pa[kamam[er]u, palakamanitu*

(b) Past passive participle

- In *-ta* *kata, pakata* (= Skt. *praktānta*), *vy[un]tha* and *vintha* (from *vi-vas*), &c
 In *-na* *dina* (i.e. *dinna*), see above, p. CCXII.

(c) Future passive participle

- In *-taya* *dakṣitaya, vataya, lā[ti]khāpetaya, vvasetavā(vi)[ya]*
 In *-ya* *sakiya* and *saku*, *[cha]kyā* and *chakiya*

(6) INFINITIVE.

- adhigatare*, *v[ā]tave* (from root *vaḥ*), *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *pāpuṣti*), *pāre[a]l[a]ve* (from **prāpati*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārdhve* (read *ārādhtave*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]*

(7) ABSOLUTIVE

- abhrvāde[tā]nūi*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II THE THREE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS

For *vadhisi* and *munisā*, see above, p. CCXIII. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *r* becomes (1) *s* in *pakiti* (= *praktitih*), *pitisu* (= *pitishu*), (2) *n* in *pitunu*, (3) *ra* in *drakṣitavayūi* (from *drakṣyati*) *au* becomes *o* in *porānā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *adhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhī *addhāya*, see above, p. CCXIII), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chra-ṭhūṭiṣe*, *Suvainagiriṭe*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakiti*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi*, *hakam*, *ti*.

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gmār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mān-schrā rock-edict, in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt *ṛ* is preserved in *gūṇā*, *paka[m]* = *nena* (read *pakamamimena*), *paṇḍa*, *ṛānesu*, *mahamātānam*, *li[ṛ]karna*, *Suvannagiri*, *sāvaṇe*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *adhātīyām khudakena*, *vasānu*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devānāṇḍīya* (Brahmagiri) and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) = [*Dev*]āṇḍīya (Siddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *ānapayati*¹. *k* appears to have become *y* in *diyadhīya* (= **dvikādhīya*) *bh* becomes *h* in *hota*, *hutam devchi*.

y is developed out of *i* in *upayite* and becomes *v* before *u* in *di[gh]āvuse* *ava* becomes *o* in *hota*

ś and *sh* have become *ṣ* throughout, but *ṣ* is improperly used for *ṣ* in [*ā*]cha[ṣ]ṛasa (Jatinga Rāmeśvara) and *sa[cha]m* (Siddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevam* and *hemva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvannagiri*, *atha*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *badha*.

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemva* (= Skt. *śāma* 1. 10). Final *u* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), and before *i* in *mahūtpen* *eva* *i* + *i* become *i* in *hiyam* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tu* (which becomes *tp*), *ḍ*, *pr*, *ty*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchanīya*, *avaṇḍhiyā*, *diyadhīyam* *e[ṣ]ayathāya*, but the length remains in *ānapayati*, *di[gh]āvuse*, *papotave* (from Skt. *prapṛṇti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathāhahā*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *yuthanu*.

The long nasal vowel *āu* is shortened before consonants in [*Dev*]āṇḍīya, *prakante* and *pakante*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *ata* and *savachhavan*.

kt becomes *t* in *vataṇḍiya*.

ky remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *l* in *saki* (Siddāpura).

kr becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakante* and *pakante*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lxv and n. 2.

gy becomes *gy* in *āogyayam*.

jñ becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*, *ṇ* in *ānapayati*.

As in *atpa* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gmār, *tu* becomes *tp* in *mahūtpa* (= *mahātman*).

ty becomes *ch* in *sacham*.

tr becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

ts becomes *chh* in *savachhavan*.

ḍr remains in *drakhyitavyam*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

ḍv becomes *d* in *Jambudīpasi* and *diyadhīyam*.

ṇu becomes *ṇ* in *pāpota* (from Skt. *prāpṛṇti*).

pr remains in *prakante* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakante*, &c.

rg becomes *g* in *vage*.

rgk becomes *gh* in *di[gh]āvuse*.

ṛṇ becomes *nn* in *Suvannagiri*.

ṛt becomes *t* in *parattatavya*, *t* in *katavye*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

¹ Cf. Prakrit *āṇavati*, and *anapami*, *anapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mān-schrā.

rdh becomes *dh* in *adhātīyāni* and *vadhīṣṭi*.

rdhy becomes *dhy* in *avaradhīyā*, *dhy* in *diyadhīyam*.

sm becomes *mm* in *dhaimma*

ry becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputaya*

śh becomes *s* in *vasāni*.

rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahām*.

ry remains in *vyūthēna* and *drakhyatāyam*, but becomes *my* in the remaining gerunds in *-tavya* (= Skt. *-tavyā*)

sr becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvane*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *susūs[ī]tavye*.

sh becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*

shy becomes *s* in *munsā* and *vadhīṣṭi*.

sth becomes *th* in *chira-thitke*

sw becomes *s* in the loc sing. in *ast*.

sy becomes *ṣ* in the gen sing in *-asa*

sv remains in *svage*.

hy remains in *drakhyatāyam*

B—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *m*

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>athe</i> , &c, neut. <i>phale</i> , &c	Masc. <i>ñātikā</i> , &c., neut <i>vasāni</i> , &c
Acc masc <i>ekam</i> , <i>savahkaram</i> , neut. <i>āvog-</i> <i>yam</i> , &c	
Inst <i>kālma</i> , &c	<i>devah</i>
Dat <i>athāya</i>	
Abl <i>avaradhīyā</i>	
Gen <i>ayaputaya</i> , <i>palamasa</i>	<i>mahāmātāman</i>
Loc <i>Isilavi</i> , <i>Jambudīpasi</i>	<i>ñātikesu</i> , <i>prānesu</i>

The termination of the nom sing neut is *-ani* in [*likhita*]*m* (Jatinga-Rāmāśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataṣṭyāni*, *sachau*.

(2) Feminine in *-ā* nom sing. *poñāṇa*

(3) Feminine in *-ī* nom sing *phikiti*

(4) Masculine in *n* loc. plur. *garu[su]*

(5) Masculine in *-ṣi* loc plur *pitusu* (Brahmagiri) and *pitusu* (Jatinga-Rāmāśvara)

(6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a* declension inst sing *mahātpeṇ[a]*, nom. plur. *mahātpā*.

(7) Masculine in *-m* instr sing. *autrivasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing *hakam*, instr *mayā*, *me*, gen. *mas* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*

Acc sing. neut *se*, nom. plur. masc. *se*

(3) Base *īta*

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat sing. *e[ī]āya*, nom sing fem *esā*

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.		Plural	
Nom. masc.	<i>iyaiḥ</i> ; neut <i>iyam, iya</i>	Masc	<i>imā</i>
Acc. masc.	<i>imam</i> .		
Instr	<i>imamā</i>		

(5) Relative pronoun

Acc sing neut. *ya, yaiḥ*.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative 3 sing *hoti, ānāpyati*

(b) Optative 3 plur *pakameyu, janeyu* (which follow the *a*-conjugation)

(2) Aorist 1 sing. *lāsati*

(3) Perfect 3 sing *āha*.

(4) Future 3 sing *vaḍhīṣati*

(5) Participle

(a) Present middle participle *pakā[m]i . na* (read *pakamamīna*), *sānu na* (from root *ś*)

(b) Past passive participle *upayīta* (from *upa-t*), *prakamīta* and *pakamīta* (= Skt *prakāśita*), *ajīṭha* (from *vi-vas*), &c

(c) Future passive participle: *vatāsiya, katāsiya, dāhyatāsiya* (from the present *da, ' arā*)
apahāyātāsiya paratātāsiya, anāpā[ṭ]atāsiya (from the desiderative of *ānu*)

(6) Infinitive.

pāpatace (from Skt *pāpāṣṭi*), *ānādhutace*

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धर्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राज्ञा लेखायिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजुहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो क्तव्यो (D) बहुवं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजन्हि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राज्ञा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो (F) पुरा महानसन्हि
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभित्सु सूपाचाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धर्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 या आरभरे सूपाचाय हो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि ची प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dharma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rājā lekḥ[ā]pita (B) [i]dha na kim-
- 3 chi jīvam ārabhitpā prajūhitavyam
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukam hi doṣam
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasī rājā¹
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rājō (F) purā mahānas[amhi]²
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[ā]dasino rājō anudivasam ha-

¹ Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

² The first syllable of *mahānasa* looks almost like *ma*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānasa* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Buhler (EI, 2, 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line

- 9 hūni prāna-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayam dha[m]ma-lip[i] likhitā ti eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo¹ (H) ete pi tri prāṇa pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed

(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.

(D) For **king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin**.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of **king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT · GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंमियस पियदसिनो राजो
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-
 3 पंशी क्षंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस क्षंतियकस सामीपं
 4 राजानो सर्वच देवानंमियस पियदसिनो राजो वे चिकीक्ष कता

¹ *dhruvo* Senart and Buhler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *n*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A] *śūdhra* in the Guṇār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakarāṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of *dharma-lipi* (or *dharma-dipi* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Buhler.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII. Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 134 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantideva, and that by doing out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18. 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantideva, the son of Saṅkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*śūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिबीछा च पसुचिबीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वथा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यच नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रद्धा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitāmi Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino¹ rāño
 2 evamāpi prachantesu yathā Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tamba-
 3 paññī Antiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tassa Antiy[a]kas[a]² sāmy[am]³
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuḍhani cha yāni
 m[a]nusoḍpān[i] cha
 6 pasop[al]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatra⁴ hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra⁵ nāsti sarvata⁶ hārāpitāni cha
 rop[ā]pitāni cha
 8 (D) pañthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachha cha ropapiṭ[a] paribhogāya pasu-
 manusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,⁷ the Kētalaputa,⁸ even⁹ Tāmraparṇī,¹⁰ the Yōna king Antiyaka,¹¹ and also the

¹ 'Priya' Buhler.

² Thus Senart and Buhler, EI, 2. 449, *Antiyakasā* Buhler, ZDMG, 37. 95

³ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmināni*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmāntā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmāntā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmyapāni* (or *sāmīpa*?).

⁴ *sarvatā* Senart, *sa vatra* Buhler.

⁵ *yata* Buhler.

⁶ *sarvatra* Buhler.

⁷ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kāśī version reads Sātyaputa, with Sātpuṭā, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Luders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakareṇḍuputta*, *Vidikaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Māchāputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt *śūjaputra*.

⁸ Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version Kētalaputra, i.e. the king of Kēṭala or Malabar, the *Κηπέδοπος* of Ptolemy, see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (4c. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

⁹ The syllable *as* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as' *as*, because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tambapāṇiyyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Luders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*, see SPAW, 1914. 831.

¹⁰ Tāmraparṇī (*Tambapāṇi* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dipavāśīsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμποβάνη*, see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kāśī and Mānsehrā read *Antiyoga*, the remaining versions *Antiyaka*. Antiochus II Hic-

kings who are the neighbours¹ of this *Antiyaka*,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment² were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadartīn*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसबासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
- 2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु बासेसु अमुसं-
- 3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्त्रिय यथा अजा-
- 4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मिचसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हण-
- 5 समनानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपष्ययता अपभादता साधु
- 6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) *Devānampriyo* ¹ *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dbādasa-vāsābhisitena* *maya*
idaṃ āh[a]pitaṃ
- 2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu*
vāsesu anusaṃ-
- 3 *y[ā]na[m n]iyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dharmaṇūsastīya yathā āñā-*
- 4 *ya pi kammāy[a]* (D) [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susūsā mitra-saṃstuta-jātīnaṃ ⁴
bāmhana-
- 5 *samañānaṃ sādhu d[ā]naṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhādātā* ⁵
sādhu
- 6 (E) *parisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyaṃjanato cha*

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

¹ For *sāma-viśā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmapāṇ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospital' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart), he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

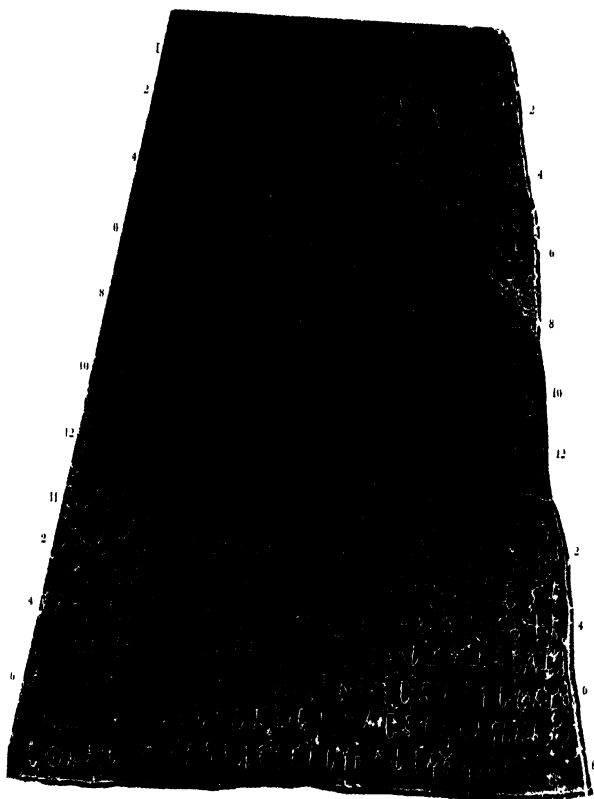
³ *prīyo* Bühler.

⁴ *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ *apabhṛṇḍatā* Senart, *apabhṛṇḍatā* Bühler.

FIRST AND SECOND ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAR

PAG



SLAT ONESITH

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,¹ the *Rājūka*,² and the *Prādēśika*³ shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)⁴ every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.⁵

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'⁶

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT. GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्षातं अंतरं बहूनि वाससत्तानि वदितो एव प्राचारो विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपत्ती ब्राह्मणसमर्थानं असंप्रतिपत्ती (B) न अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 3 धमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धमघोसो विमानदर्शना च हस्तिदर्शना च

¹ For *yukta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kāntiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff, and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *viyuyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rayju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kāntiliya*, the two terms *chōra-ayjū* (p. 60) and *chōra-rayjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Aśthāśāstram*, p. 10 f, and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *pradīśtri* in the *Kāntiliya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradīśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradīśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgi* (IV, 126) *prādēśikīśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhaulī, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-D1) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

⁴ Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhaulī separate edict I, CC.

⁶ This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated *pariśā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-pariśad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kāntiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *ganānāyana hetu cha vyañjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Śārnāth pillar-edict section I.

- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि
5 न भूतपुत्रे तारिसे अज वदिते देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्सिया अनारं-
6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
7 सुसुसा चैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वदिते (E) वदयिसति चेव
देवानं प्रियो
8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुषा च पोषा च प्रपोषा च देवानं प्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राजो
9 प्रवधंयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटक्का धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्संतो धंमं
अनुसासिसंति
10 (G) एस हि सेस्से कमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इममिह अयमिह
11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अषाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अयस वधि
मुजंतु हीनि च
12 नो लोचेतथा (K) द्वादसवासाभिसित्तेन देवानं प्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikātam aṃt[a]ram bahūni vāsa-satāni vadhito eva prānārambho vihiṃsā cha
bhūtānam ātisu
2 a[s]ampratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sraṃanānam asaṃpratipatī' (B) ta² aja Devānaṃ-
priyasa Priyadasino³ rāño
3 dhamma-charanena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsanā⁴ cha hasti-
da[sa]nā cha
4 agi-kh[a]mdhāni cha [a]ñāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ (C) yārise bahūhi
v[āsa]-satehi
5 na bhūta-puve tāuse aja vadhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño
dhammanūsaṣṣiya anāram-
6 [bh]o prānānaṃ avihiṃsā⁵ bhūtānam ātīnaṃ sampatipatī brahmaṇa-samanānam
sapatipatī mātari pitari
7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusa (D) esa añe cha bahuvudhe [dha]mma-charane va[r̥dhi]te
(E) vadhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
8 [Pri]ya[da]si⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño

¹ The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently

⁴ *-dasanā* Senart and Bühler

⁵ The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

⁶ The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pa*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102

- 9 [pra*]vadhayasanti¹ idam [dha]mma-charanam āva savata-kapā² dhammamhi
 silamhi tistamto [dha]mmam anusāsasanti
 10 (G) [c]sa hi seṣe kamme ya dhammānūsāsanam (H) dhamma-charane pi na
 [bha]vati asilasa (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi
 11 [va]dhi cha ahini cha sādhu (J) c[et]āya athāya³ ida[m] lekhāpitam imasa atha[s]a
 v[a]dhi yujamtu hini⁴ ch[a]
 12 [no]⁵ lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]m Priyena Priyadasinā
 rāṇ[ā] idam lekhāpitam

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Piyadasi**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.⁷

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya**

¹ See note 6 on previous page.

² *sāvata*—Bühler.

³ Between *tha* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

⁴ There is a vacant space between *hi* and *ni*.

⁵ Instead of *no* the plate facing E.I. 2. 452 shows the syllable *nu*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Keir (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nūlochetavyā*.

⁶ For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911, 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says, 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Asoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness. Cf. the Girnar edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathi* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lokapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadu āgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandhā* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapadam* may be added *Alahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahanā āgikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*aggikkhandhā*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. This is (JRAS, 1914, 395) would render *agniskandhā* by 'bonfires', but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Pinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Anguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rupnath edict, F. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),¹ (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they² should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them)³

(K) This was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अयचं आव संवटकपा अनुवत्तिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हायेसति सो दुक्तं कासति (G) सुकरं हि पापं (H) अतिकतं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतमुवं धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चेदसवासाभिसितेन धम्ममहामाता कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तानाव
- 5 धम्मयुत्तस च योयकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेयिक्कानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911, 485, n. 1. Bohtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol VII, addenda) quotes *anivaria-kalpa* from the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (§ 233, No. 62).

² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant, cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālaś corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*)

- 6 सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोपाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनबधस
पटिविधानाय
- 7 प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा धीरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते
च बाहिरसु च
- 8 ये वा पि मे अजे जातिक्का सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं
धंमनिक्षितो ति व
- 9 ते धंमहामाता (O) एताय अवाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
- 10
- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyaḍasi rājā¹ evaṃ jha (B) kalānam dukaraṃ (C) y[o
ādikaro] kalān[a]sa² so dukaram karoti
- 2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇam kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā³ cha param cha
tena y[a] me [a]pacham āva saṃvaṭṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
- 3 so sukatam kāsatī⁴ (F) yo tu cta desam pi hāpesati so [du]karaṃ kāsatī
(G) sukarām hi pāpā[ṃ] (H) atikātam amṭaram
- 4 na bhūta-pruvaṃ⁵ dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā trāsasa-
vāsābh[is]ṭ[ena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsam[es]u vyāpatā
dhāmadhistānāya⁶
- 5 [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]rābhoj[a]-Gaṃdhārānaṃ⁷ Ristika-
F[e]teṇikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]h[ic ā]parātā⁸ (K) bhatamayesu va
- 6 [su]khā[ya] dhamma- yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa⁹ paṭividdhānāya
- 7 [p]rajā¹⁰ katābhikāresu vā thāiresu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
cha bāhīrasu¹¹ cha
- 8 [y]e va pi me añe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayam dhamma-
nisrito ti va
- 9 [t]e [dha]rma-mahāmātā (O) etāya¹² athaya ayam dhamma-lipi likhitā
- 10

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllabic *ra*.

² *ye a* *kalānva* Senart and Buhler

³ *potā* Buhler

⁴ The Kālsi and Dhauli versions read correctly *so sukatam kachhānti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) suggests, the Girnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

⁵ Read *purvaṃ*, which is Senart's reading, *pruvaṃ* Buhler.

⁶ The other versions read *dhammādhī*.

⁷ *Yona*- Buhler.

⁸ *aparātā* Buhler.

⁹ The *na* of *baidhana*- was inserted subsequently

¹⁰ [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā Cf. the *r* of *trāsasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4

¹¹ Read *bāhīresu*, which is Senart's and Buhler's reading

¹² The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dēvināthapriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin is easily committed.
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the *Yōnas*, *Kambojas*, and *Gandhāras*,¹ the *Riṣṭikas* and *Pētēpikas*,² and whatever other western borderers³ (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters⁴ for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners⁶ (with money)⁷ (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill?),⁸ or with the aged.

¹ i.e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābīs; see AbSI, I, 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambojas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3, 353 f., and JRAS, 1911, 801 f., 1912, 255 ff., 1915, 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 261) identified the *Riṣṭikas* with the *Riṣṭikas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Riṣṭika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhāzgarhi edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24, 52 ff.), *Pētēnika* stands for **Paṭṭayānika*. Dhauti reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharoṣṭhī versions read *Pitenika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R, see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20, 240. For *ahita* see the Kālsī edict II, I, 1, and XIII, I, 6; Rūpnāth, *Sahasrām*, and Harāt, H, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, I, and the second separate edict at Dhauti and Jaugadā. Later on *Aparānta* became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II, 220.

⁴ The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhrīta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic, see Franke in GN, 1895, 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893, 240 f.

⁵ Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *pariguddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. *bairādhana-badhānān munisānān* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

⁷ Cf. *kurāṇa-patvuddhāno* in the Girnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 840.

⁸ With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛtvānān*, '(female) demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhisakṣānān*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Ātharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, 2, 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48, 55.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

11

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in *Pāṭaliputra* and in the outlying and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality whether one is eager for morality¹

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रान्तं कान्तरे
- 2 न भूतपुत्र सव . . ल अचकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कान्तं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुञ्जमानस मे ओरोधनमि गभागारमि वचमि व
- 4 विनीतमि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अये मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेष इति (E) सर्वेष च जनस अये करोमि (F) य च किंचि सुखतो
- 6 आज्ञपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
- 7 आचायिके ओरोपितं भवति ताव अचाय विवादो निज्जी व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतथं मे सर्वेष सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि
- मे तोसो
- 9 उस्तानमि अचसंतीरयाय व (I) कात्थमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्तानं च अचसंतीरया च (K) नास्ति हि कंमतं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितया (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि आहं किंति भूतानं आनयं गळेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परया च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अचाय
- 13 अयं धमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुषा पोता च
- प्रपोषा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā]. [s]i rājā evaṃ āha (B) atikrāṇ[a]ṇa arāntara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].¹ [s]. [v]. . . [l].² atha-kaṇime va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṃ katanā
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhuñj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinitamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā³ sṭitā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kimchi mukhato
- 6 āñapayāmi svayaṇ dāpakam vā sāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]⁴ aropitam⁵ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]anto parisāyam

¹ *nirasto* = Pāli *nastito* and Skt. **nirastah* (Senart). For *yo ajam* cf my note on the translation of section I. of the Kāśī version of this edict.

² Read *-purva*, *-pura* Senart, *-purva* Buhler.

³ Restore *save kāle*

⁴ An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ti*.

⁵ *āroptam* Senart and Buhler.

⁶ *āroptam* Buhler

- 8 ānāntaram paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṁ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āśapitaṁ
(H) nāsti¹ hi me to[s]o
9 uśānamhi atha-saṁtīraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitāṁ
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uśānam cha atha-saṁtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataram
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kimchi parākramāmi ahaṁ kinti bhūtānaṁ ānaṁṇam
gachheyaṁ
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṁ ārādhayamtu ta² (M) etāya athāya
13 ayam dha[m]ma-lipī lekḥāpitā kinti chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha
14 anuvatarāṁ³ sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṁ [t]u idam añatra⁴ agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,⁵ even at the cowpen,⁶ in the palanquin,⁷ and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātra*)⁸ a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved,¹⁰ in connexion with any donation or proclamation¹¹ which I myself am ordering

¹ An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka* in l. 9, *kaṁmata* in l. 10, and *ānaṁṇam* in l. 11.

² Read *ti*.

³ Senart and Buhler correct *anuvateram*. Pischel (GGA, 1881, 1331) and Buhler read *anuvatarām*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Skāhāzgarhi*, 2, 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*, but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakaram* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samacharam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

⁴ *añata* Senart and Buhler.

⁵ Cf. Molesworth's *Maṇḍhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gūbhār*.

⁶ The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

⁷ With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinīlaka* and *vamīlaka*, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 277.

⁸ See above, p. 5, n. 7.

⁹ *samto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

¹⁰ Buhler (ASSI, I, 123) rendered *nyhāti* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight, it would suit the former misreading *nyhāti*, but not the actual reading *nyhāti*. Luders (SPAW, 1913, 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be **nidhyapāti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Iṣṭā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,¹ it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.²

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important³ than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that⁴ I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them⁵ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंदा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सयमं च
2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचच्छंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व कांसति
एकदेसं व कंसति
3 (E) विषुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कांतजता व ददभतिता च
निचा वाढं

- 1 (A) Devānampiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsamdā vaseyu (B) save te sayamam cha
2 bhāva-sudhim cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chchando uchavacha-rāgo (D) te sarvam va kāsanti eka-deśam va kasa[m]ti
3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katamñatā va dadha bhau[t]ā cha nichā bādham

¹ K. Jayaswal (IA, 42 283) quotes the *Kantilya*, p 29, l 12 चात्वाविधिं चापि मन्त्रियो मन्त्रिपरिषद्ं चाह्वय वृत्वात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

² With *atthā-samāśraṇā* cf. *Alita-danda* in the pillar-edict IV, I.

³ I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kāṣṇmātaram* as a comparative of *karman*

⁴ Franke (GN, 1895: 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kiṃti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḥ separate edict I, B and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kiṃti* at Gīrnār, Dhauḥ, and Jaugada corresponds to *gīna* at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehra.

⁵ The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l 4, *na* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt *ina*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from *isha*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT · GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभिरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो जयाय संवोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमखानं दसणे च दाने च धैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरण्यपट्टिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धंमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुष्ठा च

5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंप्रियस प्रियदत्तिनो राजो भागे अजे

1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ jayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani²

2 abhiramakāni ahumsu (C) so *Devānāmpriyo*³ *Priyadasi rājā dasa-varṣābhīsito*⁴ *santo* ayāya *Sambodhiṃ*

3 (D) tenesa dhamma-yātā (E) etayaṃ hoti bāmhana-samaññaṃ dasane cha dāne cha dhairānaṃ dasane ch[a]

4 hiraṇṇa-paṭṭividdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa⁵ daspanaṃ⁶ dhammānusa[a]ṭṭi cha dhama-paripucchā cha

5 tadopayā (F) eśa bhuya rati bhavati *Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rājō bhāga* [e] amhe

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.⁷

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vedic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauri and Jaugada may correspond to Skt. *nichāṣ* or *nichak*.

² Read *sāns*.

³ *priyo* Bühler.

⁴ *-vasā* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *jānasa* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dasanaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *jayāsu* = **nyayāsuk* in the sense of *nirayāsuk*. See also Fleet in JRS, 1908, 488, n. 2.

(C) But when king *Dēvaṇāṃpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went to *Sarabōdhi*.¹

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).²

(E) On these (tours) the following³ takes place, (viz.) visiting *Brahmanas* and *Śramanas* and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,⁴ visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).⁵

(F) This second period⁶ (of the reign) of king *Dēvaṇāṃpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.⁷

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा एव आह (B) अस्मि जनो उच्चावचं मंगलं करोते
आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंमि वा एतम्ही च अजमि च जनो
उच्चावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिदायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च हुरं च निर्णं च मंगलं करोते (D) त
कथमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतस्मिं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धम्ममंगले (G) ततो दासभक्तकम्हि
सम्प्रतिपत्ति गुरुन अपचिति साधु
- 5 पायेसु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतस्मिं धम्ममंगलं
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

¹ D R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Patnā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka's visit to the *bōdhi*-tree is described in the *Dnyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummīndī pillar.

² The singular *esā dhammayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *nhara-yātām* in section A.

³ Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayasi* by *eta tyaṃ*. As *ayam* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayam*, cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 298.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

⁵ With *tadōpiya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadōpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

⁶ Hitherto the two words *bhāge amñe* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhāuli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *npāra-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

⁷ The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem, but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amñe*, as [e]se at Kālsī and [e]he in the two Kharōṣṭhi versions.

- 6 पुणेन वा भाषा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं क्तव्य मंगलं आव तस अयस
निस्तानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं
7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्त्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धमदानं व
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मिचेन व सुहदयेन वा
8 अतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितथं तम्हि तम्हि पकारणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति
इमिना सक्
9 स्वगं आरापेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना क्तव्यतरं यथा स्वगारपी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva¹ āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ
karote ābādhesu vā
2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhī cha añamhī cha jano
uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ karote
3 (C) eta tu mahilāyo bahukaṁ cha bahuvidham cha chhudaṁ cha nirath[am] cha
maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalaṁ² (E) apa-phalaṁ tu kho
4 etarisaṁ³ maṅgalaṁ (F) ayaṁ tu mah[a]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale
(G) ta[te]ta⁴ dāsa-bhatakamhī samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachitī sādhu
5 pānesu sayamo sādhu bamhana-samañānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ et[a] cha añ[a] cha
etarisaṁ dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāna (H) ta vatavyaṁ pitā va
6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya⁵ maṅgalaṁ āva tava
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam
7 sādhu dana⁶ iti (J) na tu etarisaṁ astā⁷ dānaṁ va ana[ya]ho⁸ va yārisaṁ dhamma-
dānaṁ va dhamanugaho⁹ va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
8 ātikena¹⁰ va sahāyana¹¹ va ovādītavyam tamhī tamhī pakaraṇe¹² [i]dam kacham
idam sadha¹³ iti iminā sak[a]¹⁴
9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī¹⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,¹⁶ or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey, on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in (these) cases women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

evasi Bühler.

Read *maṅgalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler

² Read *etarisaṁ*

tata Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, supported by the other versions

katavyam Bühler.

⁵ Read *dānam*, *danaṁ* Bühler.

Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

Read *anugaho*.

⁹ *dhammanugaho* Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *āti*.

Read *yena*

¹¹ The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

Read *sādhu*.

¹⁴ *sakaṁ* Bühler

¹⁵ *radhī* Bühler

For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,¹ gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say.—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.²

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done, this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven'

(L) And what is more desirable than this,³ viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महापावहा मज्जे अजत तदात्पनो दिषाय च मे जनो
- 2 धम्मसुसुता सुसुसता धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधिपतां (B) एतक्काय देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति
- 3 (C) यं तु किंच परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सवं पारचिकाय किंति सकले अणपरिस्सवे अस्स (D) एस तु परिसवे य अणुपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुक्कं तु खो एतं दुदक्केन व जनेन उससेन व अज्जव अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं परिचजिप्पा (F) एत तु खो उससेन दुक्कं

1 (A) *Devānaṃpiyo* ⁴ *Priyadasi rājā* ⁵ *yaso va kīti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate* ⁶ *añata tadātpano* ⁷ *diḥhāya cha me [ja]no*

2 *dhamma-susu[ṃ]sā* ⁸ *susu[satā]* ⁹ *dhamma-vuttam cha anuvīdhiyatām* (B) *etakkāya Devānaṃpiyo Priyadasi rājā*, *yaso va kīti va [chha]ti*

¹ The word *sādhū* after *apahitti*, *sayamo*, and *-samanānāsi* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Gīrṇār text, because the person who dictated the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, 1).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 48 57 f) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dana* and *dhammānṇyaka* in the *Itivuttaka*.

³ A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Fischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

⁴ *priyo* Bühler.

⁵ An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *ss* and *rā*, and an obliterated *va* between *sa* and *jā*.

⁶ *mañate* Bühler.

⁷ Read, with Kern (*Taartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

⁸ *-susu[satā]* Senart, *-susu[sā]* Bühler.

⁹ *-satām* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[i]¹ parik[a]mate² Devānāṣṭri³ Priyadasi rājā ta savaṁ pāratrikāya
kiṁti sakale a[pa]-parisrave⁴ asa (D) esa tu parisave⁵ ya apuṁñam
4 (E) dukaram tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usaṇena va añatra agena
parāk[r]amena⁶ savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usatena dukaram

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṣṭri Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame⁷ conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),⁸ men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.⁹

(B) On this (account) king Devānāṣṭri Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame

(C) But whatever effort king Devānāṣṭri Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim)¹⁰

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult¹¹ to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविर्नप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं वारिसं धर्मदानं
धर्मसंस्तवो वा धर्मसंविभागो वा धर्मसंबधो व
2 (C) तत् इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्प्रतिपत्ती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-
संस्तुतजातिमानं वाग्दण्डसममानं साधु दानं
3 प्राधानं अनारभो साधु (D) एत वतत्वं पिता व पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसंस्तुत-
जातिकेन व आच पदोवेसिदेहि इद साधु इद क्तव्यं
4 (E) सो तथा कस् इलोक्वस आरपो होति परत च अनंतं पुद्गं भवति तेन
धर्मदानेन

¹ *kichit* Bühler

² Read *parākamate*; *parākāmate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

³ Add *pryo*.

⁴ *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

⁵ *parisrave* Bühler.

⁶ *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ i. e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

⁸ Instead of *tadāpāna(ne) dṛghāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadāpāya āyatiya cha*, which occurs also in the *Kautiliya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadāpā cha āyatiya cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prakṛt affix *-tvana* or *-tāna*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage of the Gīrnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, P. 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Devānāṣṭri, viz. the conquest by morality.'

¹⁰ I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

¹¹ The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatāle* for *dukarām*.

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpriyo*¹ *Piyadasi rājā* ev[a]ñ āha (B) *nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ*
dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-samstavo vā dhamma-samvibhāgo [vā]² *dhamma-*
*sambadho*³ va
 2 (C) *tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipati mātari pitarā*⁴ *sādhu*
*sus[r]usā mita-śa*stuta-ñātikānaṃ *bāmhāsa-s[r]āmanā*[nam]⁵ *sādhu dā*[nam]
 3 *prānānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu* (D) *eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-*
sastu[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi⁶ *ida*⁷ *sādhu ida*⁷ *ka*[tav]ya[m]
 4 (E) *so* [a]tthā *karu*⁸ *ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha annamtam*⁹ *puiṇaṃ*¹⁰
bhavati tena dhamma-dāneṇa

TRANSLATION

(A) *King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.¹¹

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brahmanas and Śramanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.¹²

(D) Concerning this¹³ a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'¹⁴

(E) If one is acting thus,¹⁵ the attainment¹⁶ of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ Read *Devānām*^o, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *vā* Bühler.

³ Read *-sambādho*.

⁴ Read *pitari*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-samanānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *paṭi*^o Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *sāsi* Bühler.

⁸ Read *karuṇ*, as in the Gīrnār edict XII, F.

⁹ Read *anantam*.

¹⁰ *puiṇam* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-samvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*, see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

¹² The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitarā*, *-samanānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

¹³ Cf. the Delhi-Tōpīā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

¹⁴ Cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, II and K.

¹⁵ Senart and Bühler take *karuṇ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karā-* and *karu-*.

¹⁶ In the Gīrnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Gīrnār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauḥī separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आप्पासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरायहि लहुका व अस
- 4 तमिह तमिह प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं कंहे आप्पासंडं च वडयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजया करोतो आप्पासंडं च वडयति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आप्पासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आप्पासंडभतिया किंति आप्पासंडं दीपवेम इति सो च पुन तप करातो आप्पासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इहा किंति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तप तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) वहका च एताय
- 9 अथा आपता धंममहामाता च इधीस्समहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आप्पासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍ[a]si rājā sava-pāsamaṇāni cha'[pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]ṇena cha vivadhāya¹ [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne*
- 2 (B) *na tu tathā dānam va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo mamāte yathā kiti sāra-vadhi asa sa[va-pā]samāṇaṃ (C) sār[a]-vadhī tu bahuvivāha*
- 3 (D) *tasa² tu idam mūlaṃ ya vaci-guṭi kimu ātpa-pāsamḍa-pūjā va para-pāsamḍa-garahā³ va no bhavē aprakaranamhi⁴ lahukā va asa*
- 4 *tamhi tamhi prakarane (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsamḍa tena tana⁵ prakaranena (F) evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsamḍaṃ cha vāḥhayati para-pāsamḍasa cha upakaroti*
- 5 (G) *tad-amāñāthā karoto ātpa-pāsadaṃ⁶ cha chhaṇati para-pāsamḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsamḍaṃ pūjayati para-pāsamḍaṃ v[a]⁷ garahati*

¹ Read *vivadhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

³ The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsamḍa-* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhiṣṭetan* near the end of the Calcutta-Haiāt rock-inscription.

⁵ Read *tana*.

⁶ *-pāsamḍaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *vā* Bühler

- 6 *savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā* ' kintī ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ dipayema iti so cha puna tatha
karāto ' ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m] bādhatarāṃ upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu
7 kintī [a]ñamamāñasa ' dhammāṃ sruṇāru ' cha susumsera ' cha (J) evaṃ hi
D[e]vānāṃpriyasa ichhā kintī ' sava-pāsaṃḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[a]nāgamā
cha [a]ṃ
8 (K) ye cha tatra tata ' prasamṇā tehi vatavyaṃ (L) Devānāṃpriyo no tathā dānaṃ
va pūjāṃ ' va maññate yathā kintī sāra-vaḍhi asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṃ (M)
bahakā ' cha etāya
9 athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithihakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha
añe cha nikāyā (N) ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhi cha hoti
dhammasa cha dip[a]ṇā

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: ¹⁰ both ascetics and householders, both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, ¹¹ (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) ¹² out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

¹ *-pāsada-* Bühler.

² Read *karoto*.

³ *mañña* Senart, *amāṇa* Bühler.

⁴ Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

⁵ *susumserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

⁶ The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

⁷ *tate* Bühler.

⁸ *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *bahuka*

¹⁰ The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍaṃ* is superfluous, see Bühler, E.I. 1. 19, n 42. It is missing in the other versions.

¹¹ Instead of *vachi-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachi* cf. the *Ardhamāgadhi* from *vat* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

¹² The readings *have* at Kāśī and *savre* in the two Kharoshthī versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrṇār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to¹ (as follows).

(L) *Dēvaṇāṣṭriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place

(M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) जो कलिंगा वज बडे सतसहस्रमाचं तथा
 हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पक्षा अपुना लभेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो
 2 सयो देवानंप्रियस वज वधो व मरणं व
 अपवाहो व जनस त वाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स
 3 बाह्वया व समया व अजे सा माचि पितरि
 सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंज्ञतसहायजातिकेसु दासभ
 4 अभिरतानं व विनिश्चमय (E) येसं वा प
 हायजातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपपातो हाति (I) पटीभागो
 चेसा सव
 5 क्षि इमे निक्काया अजच योनेसु भि यच नास्मि
 मानुसानं एकतरमि पासंडमि न नाम प्रसादो (E) यावतको जनो तदा
 6 सभागो व गरुमतो देवानं न य सक् क्षमितवे
 (E) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति
 7 चते तेसं देवानंपियस सकभूतानां अजतिं च
 समयं च समचैरं च मादच च

¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugarla (*-tama-nehi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālibi (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *Āyivikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

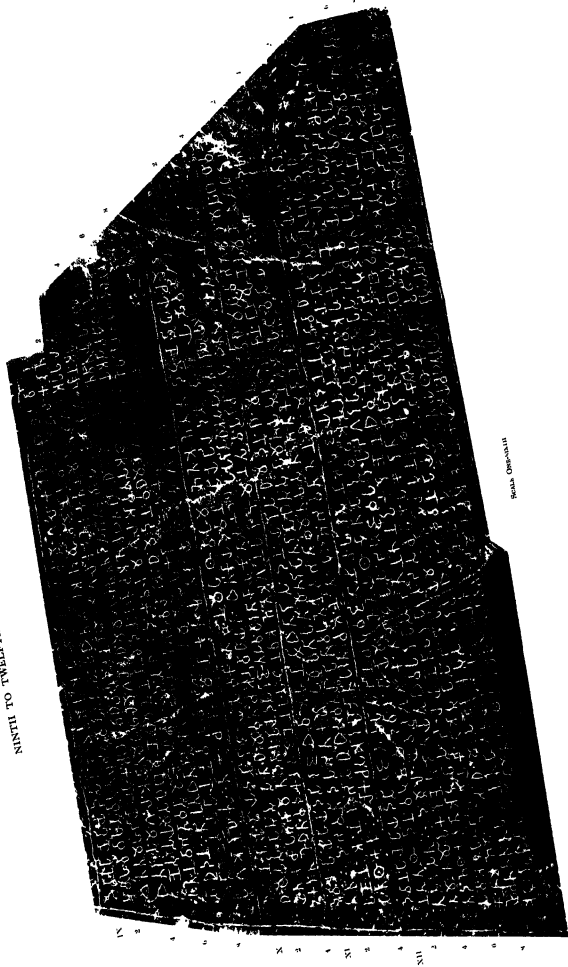
³ For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

⁴ With *stijhakkha* cf. *gaṇikādhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kāutilya*, II, 27

⁵ Bühler (EI, s. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prakṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gaṇadhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gādhyaṅksha* in the *Kāutilya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachants* and *v[ṛ]acheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhi, XIII, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmanas, Āyivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.

NINTH TO TWELFTH ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAR



Girnar, Chhatrapati

- 8 लघो नम्रियस इध सबेसु च योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च
9 इध राजविसयमिह योनबंबो 'प्रपारिदेसु सवत
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (B) यत्त पि दूति
10 नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (C) लथा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयमिह
11 'प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल वं विजयं
मा विजेतव्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12 किक्को च पारलोकिक्को इलोकिक्का च
पारलोकिक्का च

- 1 (A) flo Kalirṅgā [v . j .] [v ḍh]e [sa]ṅa-sahasra-mātram
tatṛā hatam bahu-tāvatakam mata' (C) tatā pachha adh[u]nā' ladh[esu
Kalirṅgesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo
2 [sa]o Devānaṁpiyasa [v j .] [va]ḍho va maranam va
apavāho va janasa ta' bādham vedana-mata' cha g[u]r[u]-mata' cha
Devā[nar]pi . . [sa]
3 bamhanā va samanā va aṇe [s]ā māt[r]i pitari susum-sa
guru-susumā' mita-samstata-sahāya-ñāṭike[su]' dāsa-[bha] .
4 abhiratānam va vinikhamana (H) yesam vā [p] [h]āy-a-
ñāṭikā vyasanam prapūṇati tata' so pi tesa' [u]paghāto hati¹⁰ (I) paṭibhā[g]o
chesā s[ava]
5 sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su]¹¹ [in]h yatra nasti
mānusānam¹² ekataramhi pāsamlamhi na nāma prasa[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o
j[ano ta]d[ā]
6 sra-bhāgo va garu-maṭ[o] Devānam na ya saka¹⁴
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi ataviyo D[e]vānaṁpiya[s]a¹⁵ piṇṇe¹⁶ pāti¹⁶

¹ mataṁ Buhler.² adhanā Buhler.³ taṁ Senart and Buhler.⁴ -mataṁ Buhler.⁵ mātā- Senart and Buhler; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r⁶ -susūsa Buhler.⁷ Read -samstata-, which is Buhler's reading.⁸ tatā Senart, tatra Buhler.⁹ tesam Senart and Buhler.¹⁰ Read hoti, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.¹¹ yo nesa Senart; Mānschrā reads Yoneshu quite distinctly.¹² manu' Buhler.¹³ sakam Böhler.¹⁴ Two old fissures of the rock, the first after pa and the second after sa, run on to the next line where they divide the word samacharavram into three parts, *priyasa Bühler¹⁵ Read vjite.¹⁶ Read hoti

- 7 chate te[sa]n Devānāmpiyasa sava-bhūtānān¹
 achhatim² cha sayamañ cha samachairam³ ch[a] mādava⁴ cha
 8 [la]dh[o] nāmpriyasa idha [sa]vesu [ch .]
 [Yo]na-rāja⁵ parañ cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]m[ek]ina⁶
 cha Magā cha
 9 idha rāja-vi[saj]yamhi [Y]o[na]-Kambo m[ra]-
 Pārihdesu⁷ savata Devānāmpiyasa dhammānusa[su]m anuv[a]lare (S) yata
 pi dūti⁸
 10 [na]m dhamānusa[su]m cha dhamān anuvidhiyare⁹
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayq pīti-raso sā¹⁰ (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-
 vijayamhi
 11 m[p]riyo (X) etā[ya] athā[ya] ayañ dhamma-[l]
 [va]ñ vijayañ mā vijetavyam maññā¹¹ sarasake eva vijaye chhāti¹² cha
 12 kik[o] ch[a] pā[r]alo[k]i[ko] ilokikā cha pāralokikā¹³ cha

TRANSLATION

- (A) the Kālīngas
 (B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain
 there, (and) many times as many those who died.
 (C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kālīngas has been taken, a zealous
 study of morality¹⁴
 (D) [the repentance] of Devānāmpriya
 (E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered
 very painful and deplorable by Devānāmpriya.
 (G) Brāhmanas or Śramaṇas, [or] other obedience to
 mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances,
 companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their)
 beloved ones.
 (H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,
 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons)
 (I) This is shared [by] all

¹ -bhūtānān Buhler.

² An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tum*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

³ *samachairam* Senart, *samachērām* Buhler.

⁴ *mādavani* Bühler. ⁵ -rājā Bühler.

⁶ *Amṛtakāna* Senart, *Amṛtekinā* Buhler.

⁷ The apparent *s*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*, *śudha* P[ri]hdesu Bühler.

⁸ Read *dūti*. ⁹ *dhama* Senart; *anuv[i]dh[i]yare* Buhler.

¹⁰ *so* Buhler.

¹¹ *maññā* Bühler.

¹² *chhāti* [m] Bühler.

¹³ Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

¹⁴ Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhbāgarhi seems to read *dharmā-silana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāyo*.

(J) these classes except among the Yōnas¹
where men are not indeed attached to some sect²

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by
Dēvānāṣṭriya].

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāṣṭriya

(N) They are [told] of Dēvānāṣṭriya

(O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by [Dēvā]nāṣṭriya here and among all
the Yōna king,³ and beyond him four kings, (viz) Turamāya, Antekina,
Magā

(R) here in the king's territory, [among] the Yōnas and Kambōjjas
. among the [A]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming
to Dēvānāṣṭriya's instruction in morality

(S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are
conforming to morality

(T) this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and)
repeatedly,⁴—causes the feeling of satisfaction

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality

(W) [Dēvā]nāṣṭriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not
think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please
them,⁵ mercy

(Y) in the other world.

(AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT. GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धर्मलिपी देवानंघ्रियेन प्रियदसिना राज्ञा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संक्षितेन अस्ति मग्मेन अस्ति विस्तृतं (B) न च सर्वं सर्वतः पठितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (D) अस्ति च एतं कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पठिपत्रेव
- 5 (E) तच्च एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सहाय कारणं व
- 6 अलीचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

¹ i. e. the Greeks.

² As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant

³ For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālī version

⁴ Cf. the Kālī version, Q

⁵ Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows' The various readings of Kālī (*shayakashi*) and Shāhbāzgarī (*spa[kashi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sva + rasa*.

- 1 (A) ayam dhamma-lipi **Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā** r[ā]jā [c]khapitā asti eva
 2 samkhit[ā]na asti majhamena asti vistatana¹ (B) na cha sarvam [sa]rvata ghatitam
 3 (C) mahalake hi vijitam bahu cha likhitam likhapaṇisam cheva (D) asti cha eta kam
 4 puna puna vutam tasa tasa athasa² madhūratāya kumti jano tatha patipajetha
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]m likhita[m] asa desam va sachhāya [kā]ranam va
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length

(B) And ' the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this⁴ has been stated again and again because of the character of certain topics, (and)⁵ in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,⁶ or because (my) motive was not liked,⁷ or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 तेष
 2 पिपा
 1 [eśha]⁸
 2 [p]i[p]a⁹
 2 [p]i[p]a⁹
 2 [p]i[p]a⁹

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... वैस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोकासुखाहरो नाम
 rva-sveto¹⁰ haṣṭi sarva-loka-sukhāhara nāma

¹ Read *vistatana*

² The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

³ The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnar reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghatitam* by 'put together'.

⁴ The other versions suggest that *eta kam* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *ata kumchit*. Cf. also *ata k[ā]khi* in the Kāśī version, E.

⁵ The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauḥ and Jaugarā.

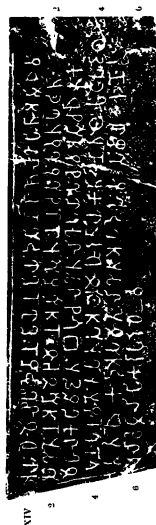
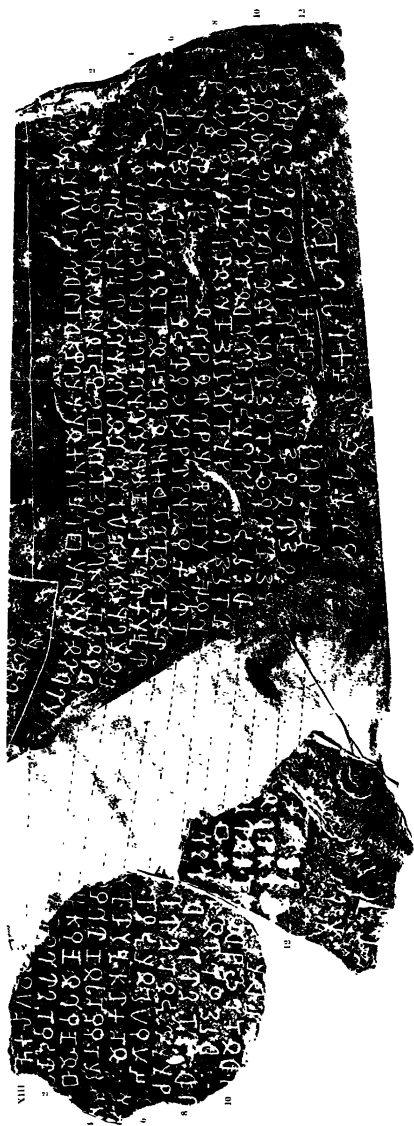
⁶ Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauḥ and Jaugarā for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *samukhyāyam*, and connected it with *karanam*, see ZDMG, 40, 142, and 48, 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *samukhyāya* on *samukhyāya*.

⁷ Senart translates, 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *lochati* = Skt *rachayati*, see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hitum tēshān 7 athāgātū hyavadiati* | *tēshān cha* &c.

⁹ Bühler (VO), 8, 320 suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

¹⁰ Restore *sarva*.



SEALY ONE-ANTH

TRANSLATION

... the entirely white¹ elephant² bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT KALSI

A.—East Face of Kalsi Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किच्छि जिवे
आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अषि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता
देवानंपियसा पियदसिना लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिना लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि
पातसहसानि अलंभियितु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि
लेखिता तदा तिमि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मज्जूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि च तिमि पानानि
नो अलभियंसति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]ida no
kicchhi jive alabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukā hi dosā samājasa Devān[ām]piye
Pi[ya]dasi lājā dakhati (E) aṭhi pi ch[ā] e]katiyā samājā ' sād[h]u]-matā '
Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine[ā]⁸ anudivasam bahuni
pata-sahasāni ' alambyiyisu ' supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi
lekhitā tada timi yevā pānāni alabhi[ya]m[ti]⁹
- 4 duve majjūla eke mige se pi [chu]¹¹ mige no dhruve¹² (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]¹¹ tu
pānā[ni] no alabhi[y]isa[m]ti¹⁴

¹ Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers', *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*

² As stated by Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Buhler (ZDMG, 39 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhauti rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

³ *nā* Buhler.

⁴ *sa[m]āja* Buhler

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here

⁶ *ajjane* Buhler

⁷ *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Buhler, read *pāna-sata-*.

⁸ *ālābhi* Buhler.

⁹ *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Buhler.

¹⁰ *majjā* Senart, *majjā* Buhler.

¹¹ *ye* Senart, *cha* Buhler

¹² *dhruve* Senart, *dhruve* Buhler

¹³ *cha* Buhler.

¹⁴ *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Buhler

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 4 (A) सबता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंवपनि
5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सबता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पमुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि
6 सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāthpriyasa[ā] Piyadasisa[ā] lājine ye cha antā [a]thā Chodā Paṇḍiā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo Tamba[pa]rñni

5 Antiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā amne tas[ā] A[ntiyogasa] sā[ma]ntā lājāno [sa]vatā Devānāthpriyasa Piyadasisa lājine duve chikisakā katā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhīni manusopagani chā pasopagani chā⁴ a[ta]tā n[ā]thi

6 [sa]vatā [h]alāpitā chā lo[p]āpitā chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]tā n[ā]thi savatā hālāpitā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisā[n]aṇ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

¹ *osadhāni* Senart and Buhler.

² *cha* Senart and Buhler.

⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

Kōlalaputa,¹ **Tāmraparī**, the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT KALSĪ

- 6 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
7 (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता
लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये
इमाय पंमनुसथिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु
8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्क्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने
पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च
युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजनते चा

- 6 (A) De[vā]nāmpriye Piyadasi lāja h[ē]vam āhā
7 (B) du[vā]ḍasa-v[a]ḥḥasitona me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama]
yutā laj[ū]k[ā]c[ā] pādesike pa[m]cha[s]u pa[m]chasa vase-su [a]nusa[m]yānam
nikham[am]tu etāye va a[th]āye imāya⁴ dhammanusathiya yathā am[nāy]e⁵ pa
kammāye (D) sadhu
8 mātā-pitisu sususa mīta-samthuta-nātikyaṇ[am] chā bāmbhana-sama[nā]nam [ch]i
sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṁ anālambh[e] sadhu [a]pa-s[ā]yātā⁶ [a]pa [bha]m[ā]t[ā]
sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[ā]yisanti hetuvata cha
viyamyana[e] chā⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years**, the following was ordered by me

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Pradesika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

¹ As the Kālī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kōlalaputa*: *Mānschrā*.

² *lajaks* Senart, *lajuke* Buhler.

³ *anustyānam* Senart, *anustāyānam* Buhler.

⁴ *athāye imāye* Buhler.

⁵ The other versions read **yātā* or **yala*. There is a fissure in the rock here

⁶ *cha* Senart and Buhler.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानं पि ये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकाले कयानसा
से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा
नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळंति
(F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पाये हि नामा सुपदालये
(H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-
वसाभिसिनेना ममया धंममहामता कटा (J) ते सबपासंसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिषानाये चा धंमवदिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए
वा पि अने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु वंभनिभेसु अनयेसु दुपेसु हिदसुखाये
धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) वंधनवधसा पटिविधानाये
अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा
नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अने नातिषे
सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिने ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता
विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चलिषितिया होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवतु
- 13 (A) Devānarhiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale¹ (C) e adikale
kay[ā]nasā se dukalam kaleti (D) se mamaya bahu kayāne kat[e] (E) t[ā]
ma[m]ā² putā³ ch[ā] nat[ā]le cha⁴
- 14 palam [chā] tēhi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisa[m]u s[c] s[u]katam
kachham[t]i (F) e chu he[t]a desam pi hāpa[y] [sat]⁵ s[c] dukatam kachhati
(G) p[ā]ye hi namā⁶ supadālaye (H) se atikantam amtalam no huta-puluva⁷
dham[m]a mahamatā⁸ nāmā⁹ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[ī]sitena¹⁰ mamayā dhamma-
mahamatā[t]i ka[t]i (J) te sav[ā]pāsam[ā]su viyā[pa]tā
- 15 dham[m]adhiṣṭhānāye chā dhamma-vadhiya hi[d]a-sukhāye va¹¹ dhamm[a] yutas[ā]
Yona-Kamb[ō]ja-Gandhālānān e vā [m] amne apalantā (K) bhatamayesu
bambhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye
viyāpatā¹² te (L) bamdha[n]a-badhā¹³sa patividhanay[ā] apalibodhāye mukh[ā]ye
chā eyam anubadh[ā]¹⁴ pañāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [katābhika]le ti vā m[ā]h[ā]la[ka]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]mā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā
nag[ā]lesu s[ā]ves[ā] olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]m cha ne bh[ā]g[ī]n[nā] e vā [pi]
am[n]e nātikyē savatā viyā[pa]tā (N) e iyam dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute¹⁵

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.² mama Bühler³ samā Bühler.⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.⁵ -puluva Senart and Bühler.⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.⁷ nāma Bühler⁸ va Senart, chā Bühler.⁹ viyāpatā Bühler.¹⁰ anubandha Senart, anub[dham] Bühler.¹¹ -suyute Senart, -samyute Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[ī]jitas[ī] mamā [dha]nma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-
m[a]hām[a]tā¹ (O) etāye athāye
17 [i]yam dhamma-lipi lekhitā chī[la]-thitukā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jja [a]nuva[ta]tu²

TRANSLATION

- (A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks (thus)
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast³
 (H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before
 (I) *Mahāmāt* as of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness⁴ of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōjas**, and **Gandhālas**,⁵ and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are)

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ibhya,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.⁹

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here¹⁰ and in all the outlying towns, in the harms¹¹ of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

¹ *mātā* Senart and Buhler

² *anuvatanu* Senart and Buhler

³ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadāya* (for which Manchrā reads *supadāve*) by *supradāryam*. Gūnār and Shāhbāgarhī read instead of it *śukarām*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *padā*, 'a step', as *mahālaya* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

⁴ Here and in K the Dhauī version reads *hita-* instead of *hida-*.

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i.e. Vākyaṣ, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauī and Manchrā versions, *ibhya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kalsi and Shāhbāgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Jātakas*, No. 544, where, as noted by Buhler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *bāhman-ibbhā* occurs several times.

⁷ The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gūnār version, *dhamma-yutānam*.

⁸ According to Childer's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Luders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gūnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *śatad-artham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e ayam* in section N = 30 *ayam* at Gūnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

¹⁰ Instead of 'here' the Gūnār version reads 'both in Iṭṭaliputra'.

¹¹ The Dhauī version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātrās* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions¹ with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality² or properly devoted to charity³

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants⁴ may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT · KALSĪ

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कलं अठकमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं
जनसा . . . वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि
चा किछि सुखते आनपयामि हकं दपकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना
महामतेहि
- 19 अतिपायिके ओलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये
अनंतलियेना पटि विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते
ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते
हि मे सबलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कमतला सबलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत
चा स्वगं ओलापयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-
ठितिका होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सबलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpī[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevañ āhā (B) atikāntaṃ aṃtalaṃ no
huta-puluv[er] sav[a]m kalañ aṭha-k[am]me [vā] [paṭi]v[eda]nā vā (C) s[e]
ma[may]ā hevañ kaṭe (D) v[ā]vam kalam adamāna[sā] * me
- 18 olodhanasī gabhāgalas[i] va[cha]sī vin[ita]s u[y]janasi sava[tā] p[ati]ve[da]ka aṭha[m]
janasā . . . v[ede]tu [m]e (E) sa[vā]tā [ch]a * ja[nas]ā aṭham kachhāmi hakam
(F) yam pi ch[ā] k[ī] [chhi] m[u]kha[tā] ānapayāmi [ha]kam da[pakam] v[ā]
sāvaka[m] vā ye vā puñā mahāmata[e]hi *

¹ The Dhauī version reads 'on the whole earth'

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-snyute* the Mānschra version reads *dāna-saṃnyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gift'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātrās*; see the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD. ⁴ See Ludes in SPAW, 1914, 841 f.

⁵ *kālam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *adam[sā]nasā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *pativedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁸ Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

⁹ *nāteku* Bühler

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite¹ h]o[t]i tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtām paṭis[ā]e
anam[taj]i[ye]nā paṭ[i] viye² me sav[a]l[ā] savām kālam (G) hevam
ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dosc³ uthān[a]śā aṭha-samtū[a]nāye chā
(I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā] * [p]u[n]ā c[ā] mule
uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-samtūlānā chā (K) [na]ṭhi hi kam[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yam cha
kichhi⁴ palakamāmi hakam kiṭi bhutanam [a]naniyam ye[ham hi]ḍa cha [ka]nī
sukhāyāmi palata chā svagam ālādhayitu⁵ (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyam dhama lipi
lekhitā chila-ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]’ iyam anat[ā]’ agenā palakam[e]na

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement)

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,⁶ or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business

(I) For I consider it my duty¹⁰ (to promote) the welfare of all men

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men¹¹

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹² happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ *patam* Buhler

² *Root-me pativedi taviye*

³ Jaugada reads *tośa*, Buhler adds *va*

⁴ Buhler omits *cha*

⁵ *kuti* Buhler.

⁶ Read *ālādhayānti*

⁷ *cha* Senart and Buhler

⁸ *ananta* Senart, *anata* Buhler

⁹ The form *saṁtām* corresponds to *saṁte* at Gurnar, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalamāmi* in XII, II, see also *kahi[nta]*, XI, F, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḥi separate edict I, X

¹⁰ *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, F. (*vedanīya-mute gṇu-mute chā*) The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uccharvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *u. hīvaucha* (Gurnār)

¹¹ For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3

¹² As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gurnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, II and M, V, C, VI, C, and VII, H. The singular *kani* occurs in the Jaugada separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSİ

- 21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसिबु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने बु उचावुचाछेदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एक्केसें पि वच्छति (E) विपुले पि बु दाने असा नधि
22 सयमे भावसुधि कितनाता दिवभतिता चा निचे वाढं

- 21 (A) *Devānāṃpiyo Piyadasi lājā savatā icchati sava-pāsaṇḍa vasiḥ* (B) *[va]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva sudhi chā ichchati* (C) *jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde uchāvucha-lā[g]e* (D) *te savam eka-de-[a]m pi k[a]ḥham[t]i* (E) *vipule pi chu dān[e] asa nathi*
22 *sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanā[tā] dīva-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham*

TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).
(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT. KALSİ

- 22 (A) अतिव्रतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिषा संबोधि
23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुससि चा धमपलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने

- 22 (A) *atikantam aṇṭalam Devanampiyā [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu* (B) *hiḍa migaviya amnāni chā heḍisānā* ⁴ *abhi-lāmān[i]* *husu* (C) *Devānāṃpiyo Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā* ⁵ *saṃbodhi*
23 (D) *tenata dhamma-yātā* (E) *[h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-bambhanānam dasane chā*

¹ The other versions render it probable that *-dāle* is a clerical mistake for *natāle*, 'grandsons'.

² *dān[am]* Buhler.

³ Read **natā*

⁴ Read **sān*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

⁵ **mithā* Senart and Buhler

dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṃna-pati[v]jdhāne chā [jā]napadaṣa
[ja]n[a]ṣā das[a]ne dhammanusathi chā dhama-palipucchā chā¹ tatopa[y.1]
(F) [e]ṣe bh[u]jce lāti² hoti *Devānāmpriyāsā Priyadas[i]ṣā lājine* bh[ā]r[e] amne

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyāsā*³ used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed)
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,⁴
he went out to *Sarabōdhi*.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz) visiting Śramanas and
Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with
gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning
(them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*
becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTII ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवापसि
आवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अनाये चा एदिसाये जने
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतुं च अवकजिनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति
25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले च खो एसे (F) इयं च खो महाफले
ये धंममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति
पानानं संयमे समनवंभनानं दाने एसे अने चा हेडिसे । धंममंगले नामा
(H) से वत्तविये पितिना पि पुत्तेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अयसा निवुतिया इमं कळामि ति
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिके से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धंममंगले अकालिके (M) हंचे
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
27 लये होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धंममंगलेना

¹ *cha* Buhler.² *Read lati.*³ Instead of this title of *Aśoka's* predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhauī versions have the word 'king'.⁴ For the form *saṃtām* see above, p. 35, n. 9.⁵ viz. 'in my territory', cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *tenvā*, but Shāh-
bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatā*. Therefore Buhler
(ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kalsi and Dhauī by *tenatā*.

- 24 (A) Devānāmpriye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[ā] āhā (B) jan[ē] uch[āv]ucham maṅgalam ka[ḷ]eti āhādhasi av[ā]hāsi vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edhāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]ḷeti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-janī[yo] bahu chā bahuvīdham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā² chā magalam ka[ḷa]nti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi³ cheva kho maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u⁴ kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yam chu kho mah[ā]ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyam dāsa-bhāṭakasi s[a]myā-patī[a]u⁵ gulunā apachitu [p]ā[n]ān[am] samyame⁶ s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam dāne ese amne chā hedise⁷ dhamma-magale namā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]unā pi suvāmiken[a]⁸ pi mita-samthuten[ā] ava⁹ paṭivesiyenā [p]
- 26 iyam sādhu iyam kataviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā nī[v]utiya imam kachhāmi tī¹⁰ (I) e hi i[ta]le¹¹ magale sa[r]ṇṇasāyike se¹² (J) siyā va tam atham nivāṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se¹³ (L) iyam punā dhamma-magale akaliky[e] (M) hamche pi tam aṭham¹⁴ no nīṭi¹⁵ hida aṭham¹⁶ palata anantam punā pavasati¹⁷ (N) hamche puna¹⁸ tam aṭham nivateti hida¹⁹ tato ubhaye[sa]rṇṇ
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata²⁰ chā anantam punā²¹ pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,²² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives²³ are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say — 'This is meritorious. This

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kāśī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in -ati. Read therefore (with Dhauḷi and Jaugada) 'dāye, which is the actual reading of Senart and Buhler.

² *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyām* Buhler

³ Read *kataviye* ⁴ *vu* Buhler ⁵ *-patipāti* Buhler. ⁶ *sāyanime* Senart, *sayame* Buhler

⁷ Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Buhler read *tam*

⁸ *Acn[ā]* Buhler. ⁹ *āva* Buhler ¹⁰ *ka[ḷa]nti* Buhler

¹¹ *ivale* Buhler ¹² Buhler adds [*hota*] ¹³ *cha vasa* Senart and Buhler

¹⁴ *athani* Buhler ¹⁵ Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivāṭeti* ¹⁶ Read (with Shāhbāgarhi) *atha*.

¹⁷ Read *punnam pavasati* ¹⁸ *sukā* Senart, *punā* Buhler. ¹⁹ *hida* Senart and Buhler.

²⁰ *tā* Senart and Buhler. ²¹ Read *punnam*, which is Buhler's reading

²² Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāgarhi reads *upadāne*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādani*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadāye*

²³ Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers' Cf. *ambuka-mādukhim* in the *Mṛchchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking).¹ I shall observe this².

(I) For other³ ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so)

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).⁴

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁵ of both (results) arises from it, (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality

TENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSİ

27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इहति तदनाये अयतिये चा जने धंममुमुवा मुमुवातु
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधिंयंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि

28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इह (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदधि
लजा त थव पालंतिषाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे वियाति ति
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना थवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

27 (A) Devā[nā]piye Piy[a]dashā⁶ lajā⁶ y[a]-ho vā kitu vā no [ma]hathāva⁷
manati an[ti]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[ā]ti tadataye ayatiye cha jane
dhamma-sususha susushatu me ti dhamma-vatam vā anuv[ic]hiyya[m]tu⁸ ti
(B) dhata[k]iye⁹ Devāna[n]piye Piyadasi

28 lājā yasho vā kitu vā ichha¹⁰ (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati¹¹ Devanānpīyo¹²
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va¹³ pālamtikya[ye] vā kitu sakale apa p[ā]lāshave¹⁴
shiyāti ti (D) [r]she chu palisave e apune¹⁵ (E) dukale chu kho eshe
khudakena vā vagenā¹⁷ ushutena vā ana[ta] agen[ā] pa[lakamē]nā shava[m]
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta] chu] kho

29 [u]shate[na] vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhāuli and Jaugada agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharoṣṭhī versions with Kālsī.

² *eta* is the regular equivalent of *etave* at Mānsiā. Shāhāzādā reads however *etake*.

³ The words *palata annam pūnāni pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, 1. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gīrnār version. Buhler (ZDMG, 37, 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavati* = Sanskrit *prastavyati*.

⁶ *lāja* Senart, *lājā* Buhler.

⁷ *yata* Senart, *yatu* Buhler.

⁸ Read *etake*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

¹⁰ Read *ichhats*.

¹¹ Read *palakamati*.

¹² *Devānam* Senart and Buhler.

¹³ *savani* Senart, *shavam* Buhler.

¹⁴ *pālit* Senart, *pāliti* Buhler.

¹⁵ Read *palishave*.

¹⁶ The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently, *apūne* Senart and Buhler.

¹⁷ *vagena* Senart and Buhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame

(C) And whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 29 (A) देवानंप्रिये प्रियदक्षि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नचि हेद्विषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमवविभगे । धंमववधे । (C) तत एवे दावभटकवि । चम्पापटिपति माता-पितृषु । बुधुषा । मितवधुतनातिक्रानं समनावभनाना दाने
30 पानानं अनालभे (D) एवे वतविषे पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि ववामिक्वेन पि मितवधुताना अवा पटिविषियेना इयं वाधु इयं कटविषे (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिके च कं आलये होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

- 29 (A) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadashi* [1]ājā hevaṃ hā³ (B) *nathi h[e]dvīṣe dane adisha⁴ dha[m]ma-dane* | *dharma-shav[i]bhage⁵* | *dhamma śambadh[e]* | (C) *ta[ta] eṣhe dāśa-bhaṭakavi* | *śamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitṛiṣu* | *śuśhushā* | *mita-śamthutana-tikyaṇam samana-vābhanaṇa⁶* [dā]ne

- 30 *pananam anāl[am]bhe* (D) *eṣhe vataviṣe piṭṭinā pi putē[na]*⁷ | *pi bhā[ṭ]inā pi śh[a]vām[i]kyena⁸* | *pi mita-śamthutanā⁹* | *avā p[a]ṭivīṣiyenā¹⁰* | *iy[a]ṇ śhādhu¹¹* | *iyam kataviṣe* (E) [ś]e tathā kala[m]ta hidalokikye cha kam āladhe hoti palata ch[a]¹² | *anata¹³* | *punā¹⁴* | *paśavati tenā dhamma-danēna*

¹ The form *śiyati* occurs again in the Kalsi edict XII, B, where it is spelt *siyati*. Cf. also *mati* in the Shāhbazgarhi edict XII, L, and in the Mānselua edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class', but here and in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gurnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauḥ (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugala (L) [va]ge. See also *hedisamvā vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauḥ.

³ Read *ahā*

⁴ *yādīsam* Senart, [ā]dīsham Buhler

⁵ *dhamma-śamvibhage* Buhler.

⁶ *samana-* and *nānam* Buhler

⁷ *puti* Senart and Buhler, the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read *śhāvāmī*.

⁹ The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line, read *tenā*.

¹⁰ *paṭivē* Buhler.

¹¹ *śādhu* Buhler.

¹² *cha* Senart and Buhler

¹³ *anmataim* Senart, *ananta* Buhler.

¹⁴ *pumā* Buhler, read *anantam pumnam*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvaṇāṣṭripriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (*vi*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say — 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,¹ (happiness) in this world is attained,² and endless merit is produced³ in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदधि

31 लाजा षावापाशडानि पवजितानि गह्वानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।
पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित
शालावडि शियाति शवपाशडान (C) शालावडि ना बहुविधा (D) तश् चु
इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपशड वा पुजा वा पलपाशडंगलहा व
नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय चु
पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा वडं वडियति
पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति
पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केह अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाशड वा । गलहति । धवे अतपाशडभतिया वा किति । अतपाशड । दिपयेम
षे च पुना तथा । कलंतं । बाढतले । उपहंति । अतपाशडधि । (I) धमवाये चु
षाधु किति । अंमनषा धंमं । धुनेयु चा । धुषुषेयु चा ति । (J) हेवं हि
देवानंपियषा इहा किति

34 सवपाशड । बहुयुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पयंना ।
तेहि वतविये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मनति ।
अथा किति शालावडि शिया । शवपाशडतिं । (M) बहुका चा । एतायादाये ।
वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इषिधियस्समहामाता । वचभुमिक्का । अने वा
निकयाया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा । फले । यं अतपाशडवडि चा । होति धंमष चा दिपना ।

¹ For the form *kalamtan* see above, p. 35, n. 9

² For *cha kahi* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

³ See above, p. 39, n. 3

30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i]

31 lā[ā] shāvā-pāsham[ā]n[ā] pav[a]jita[n]i gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[ā]ye¹
 cha¹ pu[ā]jye (B) u[ā] ch[u] tathā dāne vā puja vā Devāna[m]piye m[a]nati
 athā k[i]ta² ś[ā]lā-v[a]khi³ śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśada⁴ (C) śālā-vadhi⁵ na⁶
 bahuvividhā⁷ (D) tāsa chu inam⁸ mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]⁹ ata-pāśada-¹⁰
 [v]a¹¹ puja vā pala-pāśamda-galāhā va¹² no [śa]yā¹³

32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i] laha¹⁴ vā śiyā [ta]ki¹⁵ taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pujetav[i]ya chu
 p[a]lā-pāśā[ā]lā tena tena akālana¹⁶ (F) heva¹⁷ kalata ata-pāśada¹⁸ bādham¹⁹
 vadhiyati pala-pāśada pi²⁰ vā upakaleti (G) tadā²¹ anatha²² kalata ata-pāśada
 cha chhanati pala-pāśada²³ pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśada
 punāti²⁴

33 pala-pāshada vā ga[lu]hati²⁵ shave ata-pāsham[ā]lā-bhatiyā vā kiti²⁶ ata-pāshamda²⁷
 [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā²⁸ kalamtam²⁹ bādhatāle up[a]hanti³⁰ ata-
 pāshamdashī³¹ (I) shamavāye³² vu³³ shādhu kiti³⁴ amnamanashā dhammanā³⁵
 shune[cy]u chā³⁶ shushusheyu chā ti³⁷ (J) hevam hi Devānāpiyashā ichha
 kinti³⁸

34 sava-pāshamda baha-shutā³⁹ chā kayānāgā⁴⁰ cha hucyu ti⁴¹ (K) e [cha]⁴² tata
 t[ā]lā⁴³ p[a]śh[am]nā⁴⁴ t[ā]lā va[ā]viye⁴⁵ (L) Devānāpiye no tathā⁴⁶ dānam
 vā puja vā mamnat[i]⁴⁷ athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]khi⁴⁸ śiyā⁴⁹ śava-pāshamdaum⁵⁰

¹ Read *shava* -; *shavā pāshamdaum* Buhler.

² *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Buhler

³ Buhler omits this sign ⁴ Read *kiti*

⁵ *śāla*- Senart and Buhler.

⁶ The syllable *na* (*nā*) Buhler) was inserted subsequently

⁷ *śāla*- Buhler. ⁸ The other versions read *tu*.

⁹ The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ Read *iyam*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

¹¹ *ta* Senart and Buhler

¹² The syllable *ta* of *ata*- is entered above the line, -*pāśada* Senart, -*pāśade* Buhler.

¹³ Cancel *va*

¹⁴ The words *pala-pāśamda-galāhā va* are entered above the line, below them the words *ti* *apalāhā va* are struck out.

¹⁵ Read *tiyā*.

¹⁶ Read *lahukā*

¹⁷ Read *tati*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler

¹⁸ Read *ākālana*.

¹⁹ *hevam* Senart and Buhler

²⁰ -*pāśadā* Buhler.

²¹ *bādham* Senart and Buhler

²² *pi* is entered above the line.

²³ The syllable *dā* is entered above the line

²⁴ *amnatā* Buhler, read *tad-anatha*.

²⁵ The syllable *pā* is entered above the line, -*pāśada* Buhler

²⁶ *puyati* Senart, *punati* Buhler, read probably *pujti*.

²⁷ One feels tempted to read -*pāshamdaum*. But the point after *du* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *da* in three other cases *ata-pāśada* in G, *sava-pāśamda* in J, and *śava-pāshamdaum* in L.

²⁸ *samā* Buhler

²⁹ Read *chu*, *va* Senart and Buhler

³⁰ *kiti* Buhler.

³¹ Read *baku*-, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler

³² Read *nāgamā*

³³ *va* Senart and Buhler

³⁴ *tatā* Senart and Buhler.

³⁵ *pashanina* Buhler.

³⁶ *śālā*- Buhler.

³⁷ Read *dānam* ti.

- (M) bahukā ch[ā] : etāyāthāye : viyāpaṣā : dha[m]ma-mahāmātā : ithidhiyakha mahāmātā : vacha-bh[u]mikyā : ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]¹
 15 (N) iyam cha etishā : phale : yam ata-pāshamda-vadhi chā : hoti dhammasha : chā dipanā :

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects ascetics or house holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.¹

(C) This² promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,³ he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāmpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows)

(L) **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Alahamātras* of morality, the *Alahamātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpans, or other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 15 (A) अठवधा- । भिक्षित- । वा देवानंप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या विजिता । (B) दियदमिते । पानसतषहणे । ये तप्ता अपवुडे । शतषहसमिते । तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लपष । कलिग्येषु तिचे । धंसवाये

¹ *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Buhler.

² *dhamasha* Buhler

³ For *syāts* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

⁴ For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5

⁵ For the form *kalanitām* see above, p. 35, n. 9

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) वे अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
पियषा । विजिनितु । कलिंग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वष वा । मल्लने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । वे वाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि च । ततो । गलुमततले ।
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति वाभना य वम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिषा वा येथु विहिता
एष अग्गभुतिषुषुषा मातापितृषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितथंषुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाशभट्टकषि वम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेथं तता होति उपघाते वा वषे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येथं वा पि बुविहितानं पिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितथंषुतषहायनातिकष
वियषनं पापुनात तता वे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष ववमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नषि चा वे जनपदे यता
नषि इमे निक्काया आनता योनेषु
- 39 वंझने चा वमने चा नषि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नषि मनुषान । एततलधि
पि । पावडषि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) वे अवातके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुडे चा । ततो धते भागे वा । वहुधभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमते वा । देवानंपियषा

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
2
3 नेसु (O) इह
4 वषभु वम वमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु
5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) वे च पुना लधे देवानंपि च
6 वषेषु च अतेषु अ वषु पि योजनवतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला पलं
चा तेना
7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अतिक्किने नाम मका ना-
8 म अलिक्कपुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंवपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9 हिदा लाजविषवषि योनकंबोजेषु नाभक्काभपंतिषु भोजपित्तिनिकेषु
10 अपपालदेसु ववता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता
11 देवानंपियसा नो वंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनं व धंमवुतं विषनं
12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधिषं अ अनुविधिषिसेअ चा (T) ये से लधे
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिल्लसे से (U) गषा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-

- 14 बि (v) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (w) पालंतिक्यमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने
 15 (x) एताये चा खदाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे खसु
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिबु वयकवि नो विजयवि खंति चा ल । हु-
 17 दंता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) वे हिदलोकिक्ख
 पललो-
 18 किये (Z) ववा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) वा हि हिदलोकिक्ख
 पललोकिक्खा

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]śhā-¹ bhāhita-² śhā [De]vānaṃpiyaśha Piyadashine³ lājine⁴;
 Kaligya⁵ vijitā⁶; (B) diyaṭha-mite⁷ pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ç]e⁸ ye [ta]phā apavudhe [i
 śa]ta-[sha]hsha-mite⁹; tata hate¹⁰ bahu-tavatake¹¹; vā mate (C) tat[o¹² p¹³chhā¹⁴;
 adhuna ladheshā¹⁵; Kaligyesahu¹⁶ tiva¹⁷ dhamma[vay]c
 36 dhamma-k[ā]mūtā¹⁸ dhammanushathi chā¹⁹ Devānaṃpiyaśhā²⁰ (D) sh[e] athu
 anushaye²¹ Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā²² vijin[itu]²³ Kaligyāni²⁴ (E) avijitam hi²⁵
 vijinamane²⁶; e tatā²⁷ vadha²⁸ vā²⁹ malane vā³⁰ apavahe [vā]³¹ jan[a]-hā³² [sh]³³
 hādha³⁴ vedaniya-mute³⁵ g[u]l[u]-mut[ç] chā³⁶ Devānaṃpiyaśhā³⁷ (F) iyaṃ ju
 chu³⁸ tato³⁹ galu-matatale⁴⁰ D[e]vānaṃpiyaśhā⁴¹
 37 (G) [ya] tatā⁴² vashati b[ā]bhanā⁴³ vā shama⁴⁴ vā ane vā pāsamūla gi[h]i[ç]ta⁴⁵ va
 yeṣu vihitā [ç]-h[a]a[ç]abhu[tç]-shushusha⁴⁶ m[ā]tā-piti shu-shushā⁴⁷ galu-shusha⁴⁸
 mita-shamthuta-shahaya-nātikeshu dāka-bha[ç]a[kash]i⁴⁹ sha[m]y[ç]a⁵⁰ patipati didha-
 bhataṭa tesham tata hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhīlātānam vā vinikhamane
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvih[ç]ānaṃ⁵¹ shinehe avipahine e tānam muta-çamh[u]ta
 sha[h]ya-[nā]tikya⁵² viyashanam⁵³ pāpunāta⁵⁴ tatā⁵⁵ she [p]i [ç]a[n]amev[ā]⁵⁶
 upaghāt[ç] hoti (I) paṭibhāge cha esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[ç]hana[m] gul[u]-m[a]tā⁵⁷
 chā Devānaṃpiyaśhā⁵⁸ (J) n[a]hi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikaya
 ānatā⁵⁹ Y[o]nesh[u]⁶⁰
 39 hañhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashu [ya]tā n[a]hi
 m[a]nushān[a]⁶¹ ekatalash[i] p[ç]i⁶² pāshadashi⁶³ no n[ā]ma pashāde⁶⁴ (K) she
 ava[ç]ta⁶⁵ ke⁶⁶ jane⁶⁷ [ç]a⁶⁸ Kal[ç]geshu⁶⁹ [ladh]shu ha[ç]e ch[ç]⁷⁰ mat[ç]⁷¹ chā⁷²
 [apavudhe chā i] tato⁷³ shat[ç] bhāge vā⁷⁴ shah[a]-sha-bhāge vā⁷⁵ aya gulu-mate
 vā⁷⁶ Devānaṃpiyaśhā⁷⁷

¹ bhāhita- Buhler ² -m[ā]te Buhler. ³ -mate Buhler. ⁴ -jāvamtake Buhler

⁵ tatā Senart and Buhler.

⁶ Read ladhshu, which is Buhler's reading

⁷ This word may be read also vijinā, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant

⁸ vadham Buhler.

⁹ Buhler adds i.

¹⁰ Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbūzgarī version, which reads ye tatā, savatā
 Senart and Buhler, who adds i.

¹¹ bāmbhanā Senart and Buhler.

¹² Read shamanā.

¹³ ag[ç]a[ç]h[ç]uta¹⁴ Buhler.

¹⁴ matā- Buhler

¹⁵ -shusha Buhler, read -shushushā

¹⁶ -bha[ç]a[kash]i Buhler.

¹⁷ [sh]amvutānān Buhler.

¹⁸ The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line

¹⁹ viyashane Buhler.

²⁰ Read pāpunāti, which is Buhler's reading

²¹ tata Buhler.

²² meva Buhler.

²³ ānatā Senart and Buhler

²⁴ yenchā Buhler.

²⁵ shānān Buhler.

²⁶ avatake Buhler

²⁷ Buhler omits i

²⁸ cha i Buhler.

²⁹ tatā Senart and Buhler.

B—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
 2 .
 3 [ney]u (O) ichha¹
 4 sha[va-bhu]⁴ [shayama shamacha]ḷiya[m] madava ti (P) iyaṁ vu⁵
 mu
 5 Devānārṇpiyeshā¹ ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[rh
 p]i cha⁵
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu⁶ a[ṭ]a Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-
 lā] . . .⁷ [pa]lam chā tenā
 7 A[rh]tiyogēnā chātālī 4 lajāno Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nichaṁ Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā avam Tarnbaparnniyā
 hevaṁ v[ā]⁸ (R) h[ve]amevā
 9 [hi]klā la[ṭ]a viśavāshu⁹ Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu¹⁰ Bhoja-
 Pitinikyē[sh]u
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[nā]mp[ī]ya[shā] dhammanu[sha]thi
 anuvataṁti (S) y[ā]ta pi dutā
 11 Devāna[rh]piyasa¹¹ no yamti t[ē] pi sutu Dev[āna]mp[ī]nāmya¹² dh[ā]mma-vutaṁ
 v[ī]klh[a]nā[m]
 12 dhammanusa[th]jī dha[rh]ma[rh] anuvidhiyama¹³ [a]nuvidhiyama¹⁴ [ch]a (T) ye
 se [la]lhc
 13 etakenā hotu savatā vi[ṭ]ja[ye]¹⁵ piti-lase se (U) gaḍhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-
 vijaya-
 14 shi (V) lahu¹⁶ v[ā]¹⁷ kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phala mamnam[ti]
 Dev[ā]nārṇpiyasa¹⁸
 15 (X) etāye chā athāye iyaṁ dha[m]ma-lipi likhita kiti putā papotā¹⁹ me a[su]
 16 nava[m] vijay[ā] ma vijayataviya²⁰ manishu shayakashī no²¹ vi[ṭ]ja[ya]shu khamti²²
 cha la t hu-²³
 17 damdatā [chā] lchetu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she
 hidalokikya palalo-
 18 kiye²⁴ (Z) shavā cha ka²⁵ nilatī hot[ti] uyāma-latu (AA) sha hi hi[ṭ]a[lokika]
 pa[ṭ]a[lokika]

¹ Restore *ichhati*⁴ Restore *-bhutānam*⁵ Read *chu*⁶ Read **piyasha*⁸ Restore **piyasa hida cha*⁷ There is a fissure in the rock between *yajana* and *shatīshu*.⁹ Restore *-lājā*¹⁰ *hevaṁ vā* Buhler.¹¹ [Hi]da-lājā l'ia-Vaji- Buhler.¹² *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Buhler¹³ **piyasa* Senart, **piyāmya* Buhler, read **piyasa*¹⁴ Read *yamti*, which is Buhler's reading.¹⁵ Read *sahiti*, which is Buhler's reading.¹⁶ This word is entered above the line.¹⁷ Read *chu*¹⁸ Read *pālamtikyameve mahā-phalam mamnat Devānārṇpiye*.¹⁹ *papotā* Senart and Buhler.²⁰ *vijayantaviya* Buhler²¹ Read perhaps *yo* (= Pākrit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāgarhi.²² There is a fissure in the rock here.²³ Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu-*²⁴ *ki* . *ye* Buhler²⁵ Buhler omits *ka*, read *kam* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāṣṭriya** Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kāṣṭhyas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kāṣṭhyas** has been taken, **Dēvānāṣṭriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāṣṭriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kāṣṭhyas**.

(E) For, this is considered¹ very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāṣṭriya**, that while one is conquering² an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāṣṭriya**.

(G) (To) the Brāhmanas or Śramanas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,³ obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion, — to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune⁴ the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished although they are (themselves) well provided for,⁵ this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.⁶

(I) This is shared by all men⁷ and⁸ is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāṣṭriya**.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmanas and the Śramanas, do not exist, except among the **Yōnas**; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.⁹

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

¹ For *mula* = *mūla* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

² *vyajamāṇa* is a nominative singular absolute, see my note on the translation of the Dhauḥ separate edict I, S.

³ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tūpra pillar-edict VII, V.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 592 f.) took *agrabhūti* = *agrayanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmana'; but the various reading in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions, *agrabhūti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt *bhriti*.

⁵ *pāpānāṭi* is used in the same way in the Dhauḥ separate edict I, J, and the Jaugarā separate edict I, K.

⁶ For this meaning of *śreṣṭhita* see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *śreṣṭhita*.

⁷ The correct construction of this section is due to Luders, who showed that *etanam* must be divided into *e tānam*, see SPAW, 1914, 850.

⁸ I.e. 'a share of this falls upon all men', see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, second ed. p. 173, n. 1.

⁹ The *chā* after *gula-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *patibhāgi*. In the same way the double *nāṭhi chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

¹⁰ See above, p. 25, n. 2.

who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kalīṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(O) . . . desires towards all beings self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this . . . by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both [here]¹ and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**² (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya**,³ (the king) named **Antekina**,⁴ (the king) named **Makā**,⁵ (and the king) named **Alīkyashudala**,⁶ (and) likewise⁷ towards the south,⁸ (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas**,⁹ among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**,¹⁰ among the **Bhōjas**¹¹ and **Pitṇikyas**,¹² among the **Andhras**¹³ and **Pāladas**,¹⁴—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya**'s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,¹⁵ the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it)

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction

(U) Firm¹⁶ becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

¹ viz. 'in my territory', see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 2

² The Shāhbāgarṇi version reads *Antiyoka*. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11. The Girnār version reads *Tulamāya*, and the Shāhbāgarṇi one *Tulamaya*.

³ The Shāhbāgarṇi version reads *Antikini*. ⁴ The Girnār version reads *Maga*.

⁵ The two Kharoṣṭhi versions read *Alīkashudara*. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 235) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244); see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 2, 105.

⁶ The two Kharoṣṭhi versions omit this word.

⁷ This is Schart's rendering of *nicham* (i.e. *nicham*). Buhler (ZDMG, 40, 137) added that the *Kṛguda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense. ⁸ See above, p. 10, n. 1.

⁹ As remarked by Buhler (ZDMG, 40, 138), *Prākṛit paṅkti*=Skt. *paṅkti*.

¹⁰ Buhler (ZDMG, 40, 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakata in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vakāṭaka grant (*Gupta Insers*, p. 241) and in the Bhaṭṭa inscriptions (IA, 21-240). But as, in the rock edict V, J, the Pitṇikas appear among Aśoka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

¹¹ The Pitṇikyas are identical with the Pēṭṇikas in the Girnār edict V, see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāgarṇi and Mansehra versions read *Pitṇika*.

¹² Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

¹³ The Girnār version seems to read *Pārinda*, and the Shāhbāgarṇi one *Palida*. Buhler (ZDMG, 40, 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Itarīya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Girnār and Kāśī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārindra*, a lion.¹⁴ Cf. *dhaṇima-vatāni cha anuvadhiyatām* in the Girnār edict X, A.

¹⁵ As suggested by Buhler (ZDMG, 40, 138), *gadhā* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhā* or *ladha*) may represent **gaddhā*, from Pāli *gadhāti*, 'to stand fast.'

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).¹

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,² they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT · KALSI

19 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदस्सिना लज्जिना लिखापिता अथि येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मग्गिमेना अथि विषटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्खं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना लपि-

22 ते तथ तथा अथवा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) वे चाया अत किद्धि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिवा वा वंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānaṃp]riya[n]ā [P]iyadasinā¹ lajjinā likhāpita athi yevā sukhi-*

20 *tenā² [a]thi majhimenā athi vithatenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite³ (C) mahalake hi vi-*

21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhaṃpēśāmi cheva nikkam (D) athi chāhetā puna punā [l]a[p]-*

22 *[t]e[]tasha tasha athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā patipajeyā (E) she chāya⁴ ata k[ī]chhi a-*

23 *samati likhite dīshā vā vāṃkheye⁵ kālanam va alochayitu lipi[kalapa]lādheṇa va*

¹ *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhaulī, R) or *mahāpā[ri]* (Jaugada, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asaṃpatti-pati*, the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhaulī, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugada.

² *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *śaṃka* (= Skt. *svaka*) at Shābhaggarhi, and as *sarasaka* at Gūnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ *vyāna* is synonymous with *nīdhāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ *dashinā* Buhler.

⁶ Gūnār reads *samkhutena*.

⁷ The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

⁸ *punam puna* Buhler.

⁹ Read *shiyā*, which is Buhler's reading. The syllable *sha* is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably *shāṃkhāya* in accordance with the Gūnār version (*sa[shā]ṃhāya*) and the Shābhaggarhi one (*sa[shā]khay[a]*).

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king **Dōvānāṣṣ-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE
OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajātame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

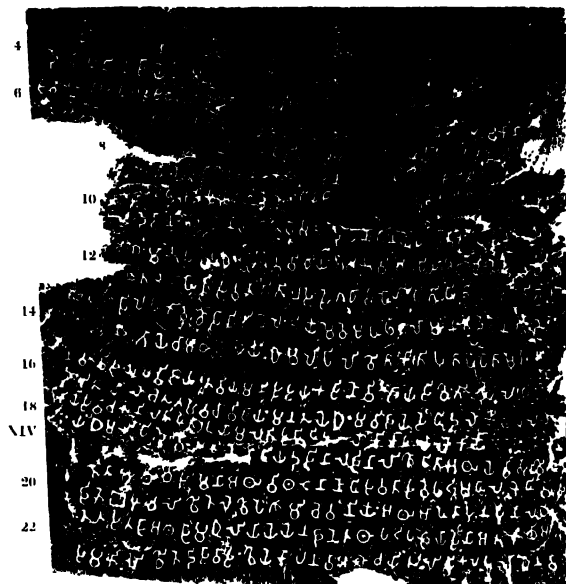
A.—East Face of Shahbāzgarhi Rock.

- 1 (A) अयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयस्सि देवणप्रिये प्रिअद्रश्शि रय दस्सति
- 2 (E) अस्सि पि चु एकत्तिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रश्शिस रजो (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रश्शिस रजो अनुदिबसो बहुनि प्रणयतसहसनि अरभियिस्सु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 भ्रमदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मज्जुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

¹ Senart and Buhler consider *nikyam* a dialectical variant of *niyam*.

² *dīś* is used in the sense of *dēśa*, unless *dūkhā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār reading *dēśam*.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Girnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhaurī (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.



KALSI ROCK; NORTH FACE



- 1 (A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi **Devanapriasa** raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita] p[ra]yuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hu] dosha sa[maya]spi **Devanapriy[e]**³ **Priadraśi** ray[a da]khati
 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia⁴ samaye sasumate⁵ **Devanapriasa**⁶ **Priadraśi** raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa⁷ **Priadraśi** raño anudivaso bahuni pra[na]-śata-sahasani⁸ [arabhi]yis[u] supathay[c] (G) s[o] iḍani yada aya
 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo prana haññam[t]i majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[rh] (H) eta pi prana trayo pacha na arabhiśamti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king **Dōvānāṃpriya**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held

(D) For king **Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 1 (A) सव्वच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च अंत यच्च चोड
 4 पंडिय सतियपुचो केरुपुचो तंबपणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अजे तस
 अंतियोकस् समंत रजनो सव्वच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २
 चिकिस् क्खिट मनुषचिकिस् ' ' पशुचिकिस् च
 5 (B) ओषढनि मनुषोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यच्च यच्च नस्ति सव्वच हरपित च
 वुत्त च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुषनं
 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[na]m[pri]asa Priyadraśiśa y[e] cha [a]m̐ta yatha [Choda]
 4 **Pañḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro**¹⁰ **Tambapaṇṇi**¹⁰ **Aṃtiyo[k]o** nama **Yona-**
raja ye cha aṃte tassa **Aṃtiyokassa** samamita rajano saviatra **Devanaṃ-**
priyasa Priyadraśiśa raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]śa [kr][ta]¹¹ manuśa-chikisa .
 pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]
 5 (B) [o]ṃha[dha]ni¹² manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra
 harapita¹³ cha vutta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanam

¹ [a]ya[m̐] Buhler.

² Read probably *likhapita*, as at Manshrā

³ *deśani sama* . . . sa *Devanapriy[o]* Buhler

⁴ *cha ekatte* Buhler.

⁵ Read *sadhu-*, *vrsta-*mat Buhler

⁶ *prasa* Buhler

⁷ *Devanapri* Buhler.

⁸ [-sa]has[r]am Buhler

⁹ *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Buhler

¹⁰ *paṇṇi* Buhler.

¹¹ *ki[ra]* Buhler.

¹² *oskudh*am Buhler.

¹³ *har[o]pita* Buhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputra*, the *Kōra* putra, *Tāmraparāṇi*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT · SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियदर्शि राज अहति (B) बदयवषभिस्तिने अशपितं

(C) सबष मञ्ज

6 विजिते युत रज्जुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो करण इमिस भ्रमनुशस्तिये च अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुशुष मिषसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणाअमणनं प्रथनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अशपेयंति हेतुतो च वंजनतो च

5 (A) *Devanāmpriyo Priyadarśi raja ahati* (B) *badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]*¹ . .

[a]nap[i]tani² (C) *savatra ma[a]*³

6 *vijite yuta rajuko pradēś[ika] 5 pamcha]shu pamchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanaṁ nik[ra]matu etiśa vo karana imisa dhrammanuśastiye [tha]⁴ añāye pi krammaye⁵ (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrūsha mitra-baṁst[ita]nāṭikanam bramana-[ra]mana[nam] [pra]ṇanam [anayam]bho sadhu⁷*

7 *apa-vayata apa-bhamdata sadhu (E) pari⁸ [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi⁹ anapeśanti hetuto cha vamañanato¹⁰ cha*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks¹¹ (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Nuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Pradivika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years.

¹ With Buhler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badaya*— On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused, see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II, 203 f., and ZDMG, 73, 227

² Buhler omitted this word.

³ Buhler omitted *maa*.

⁴ *pradivik[e]* Buhler.

⁵ Read *yatha*, *dhramanuśasti yatha* Buhler.

⁶ *kramaye* Buhler.

⁷ Buhler omitted the end of this line.

⁸ Read *parisha*.

⁹ There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ṇa*.

¹⁰ *vamañanato* Buhler.

¹¹ Buhler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas [is meritorious] Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātrat*) also shall order the *Vuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रान्तां अन्तरं बहूनि वषट्पतनि वदितो वो प्रणरम्भो विहिंस च भुतनं
जतिनं असंपटिपतिं अमणमणनं असंपटिपतिं (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस
प्रियद्रगिस रजो
- 8 भ्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो भ्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिनं जितिकंधनि अजनि
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषट्पतेहि न भुतप्रुवे
तदिशे अज वदिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो भ्रमनुशस्त्रिय अनरम्भो
प्रणनं अविहिंस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपतिं ब्रमण-
- 9 अमणनं संपटिपतिं मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं भ्रमचरणं
वदितं (E) वदितं च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो भ्रमचरणं इमं
(F) पुच पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो
प्रवदंशति यो भ्रमचरणं इमं अक्कप भ्रमे शिले च
- 10 तिठिति भ्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि स्वेठं क्रमं यं भ्रमनुशशनं (H) भ्रमचरणं
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अणस वदि अहिनि च सधु
(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्सं इमिस अठस वदि युजंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु
(K) वदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रगिन रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikratam antaram bahuni vasha-ṣatani vadhito vo pranarambho vihisa cha
bhuta[nam] ātina¹ asampatipati śramana bramanana[m] a[sam]patipati
(B) [so aja Devana]mpriyasa Priyadrasisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charanena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanam
[a]tina¹ joti-kandhani aññani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśam
bahuhu vasha-ṣatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vadhite Devana[m]priyasa
Priyadrasisa raño dhrammanuśa[sti]ya anarambho prana[nam] avihisa
bhutanam ātina[m] sampatipati² [bra]mana-
- 9 śramanana³ sampatipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśruṣa (D) e[ta] aññam cha
bahuviddham dhrama-charanam vadhitam (E) vadhiṣati cha yo Devana[m]priyasa
Priyadrasisa raño dhrama-charanam⁴ ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kam⁵ nataro

¹ ātina[m] Buhler.² [asampatipati] Buhler.³ [ka]stiya Buhler.⁴ sa[mpatipati] Buhler.⁵ śramanana[m] Buhler.⁶ -chavano Buhler.⁷ ku Buhler.

- cha pranatika cha **Devanāmpriya[sa] Priyadarśina** raño pra[va]dh[ç]santi¹
 [yo]² dhrama-charanam ima[m] ava]-kapa³ dhrame ñile cha
 10 tiṭṭhi⁴ dhramam anusaśisanti (G) eta h[ç] s]reṭham k[r]ama[m] yam
 dhraman[u]ṭṭaṇa[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoṭi aśiṭasa (I) so
 imisa aṭhassa vadhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistam⁵ imisa
 aṭhassa vadhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ç]h[ç]sh[ç]u (K) **badaya-vasabhisitena**⁶
Devanāmpriyena Priyadarśina raña ñanam hi[da] nipeṣitam⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,⁹ (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve¹⁰ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by **king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ ra[ñ]o [vadhe]śanti Buhler.

² Buhler omitted yo.

³ [-kapam] Buhler.

⁴ tiṭṭhi Buhler.

⁵ nipista Buhler.

⁶ Read *badaya*, and cf. above, p. 53, n. 1.

⁷ raña [id]am . nam dipa[m]tām Buhler. The *da* of *kida* looks like *dam*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

⁸ For *cha kām* see above, p. 31 n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kām* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16, XIII, 13).

⁹ The participles *nipistam* and *nipeṣitam* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *nī-piśh*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشت. Cf. the Russian *писать* 'to write'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT. SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलखं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्टं (E) तं मञ्ज पुष च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षन्ति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिंशति ते सुकिटं कषन्ति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकरं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतमुव भ्रममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय भ्रममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट भ्रमपिचनये च भ्रमवडिय हिदसुखये च भ्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु व्रमखिभेषु अनयेषु बुडेषु हितसुखये भ्रमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वपनवपस पटिविपनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इक्ष वहिरेषु च नगरेषु समेषु ओरोधनेषु भुतन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवष वियपुट (N) ये अयं भ्रमनिशिते ति व भ्रमपिचने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मञ्ज भ्रमयुतसि वियपट ते भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अटये अयि भ्रमदिपि निपिक्ख चिरचित्तिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवतु
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]na[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]nasa so du[kɪ]ram karoti (D) so maya bahu kalam² ki[ɪ]ram (E) tam maa³ putra cha naturo cha para[m] cha [u na y]e⁴ me apacha vrakshanti⁵ ava-kapam tatha⁶ ye an[u]vatiśanti⁷ te s[u]kita[m]⁸ kashanti (F) yo chu atu . kam⁹ pi hapeśadi¹⁰ so dukatam kashati (G) papam hɪ] sukaram (H) sa atikratam atara no¹¹ bhuta-priva dhramma-ma[ha]ma[tra] tra¹² nama (I) so todaśa-vaśabhisitena¹³
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kita¹⁴ (J) te savra prashamdesa[u] vapata dhrammadhithanaye¹⁵ cha dhrama-vadhuya¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhramayutasa Yona-Kamboya-Gandharanam¹⁷ Raṭhikanam¹⁸ Pitinikanam¹⁹ ye

¹ aka ts Buhler² Read kalaman³ ma[ha] Buhler⁴ [ya] Buhler⁵ [a]khamti Buhler In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharosthi uses a special form of *chh* in all these cases, where it corresponds to Sanskrit *chh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.⁶ tatham Buhler, but what he took for an Anusvara is probably the horizontal bottom line which is frequent at Manshrā.⁷ vatiśanti Buhler⁸ sukita[m] Buhler⁹ Restore perhaps *ekam*; the other versions read *desam* or *desa*.¹⁰ [hapesadi] Buhler¹¹ so atik[ra]m[tam] aintaram na Buhler¹² dhrama- Buhler.¹³ [tada] Buhler¹⁴ ki[ɪ]ra Buhler.¹⁵ dhrama¹⁶ Buhler.¹⁶ -vadhya[e] Buhler.¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.¹⁸ Raṭhikanam Buhler The *th* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.

- va pi aparaṃta (K) bhāṣamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vudheshu [hita]-
sukhaye [dham]ma-yutasa¹ apaliḥ[o]dha² vap[a]ja te
- 13 (L) badhana-badhasa³ paṭivīdhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...⁴
prajava kṛpabhikaro va mahalaka⁵ va viyapata⁶ [t]e⁷ (M) ia bahiresu cha
naṣaresu savresu orodhaneshu bhratuna⁸ cha me spasana⁹ cha ye va pi
amīe ṇatika savatra viyaputa (N) y[e] ayam¹⁰ dh[r]ama-niṣite¹¹ ti va
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata¹² vijite maa¹³ dhrama-
yu[ta]si¹⁴ viyapata te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athaye [a]yī¹⁵ dhrama-dipi
nipista¹⁶ ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]¹⁷ cha [m]e¹⁸ p[r]aja anuvatatū

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who
shall come¹⁹ after them until the end (of destruction of the world), those who will
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin is easily committed
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)
anointed thirteen years.
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting
morality, and for the welfare and happiness²⁰ of those who are devoted to morality
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Rāṭhikas, among
the Pītṛikas,²¹ and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

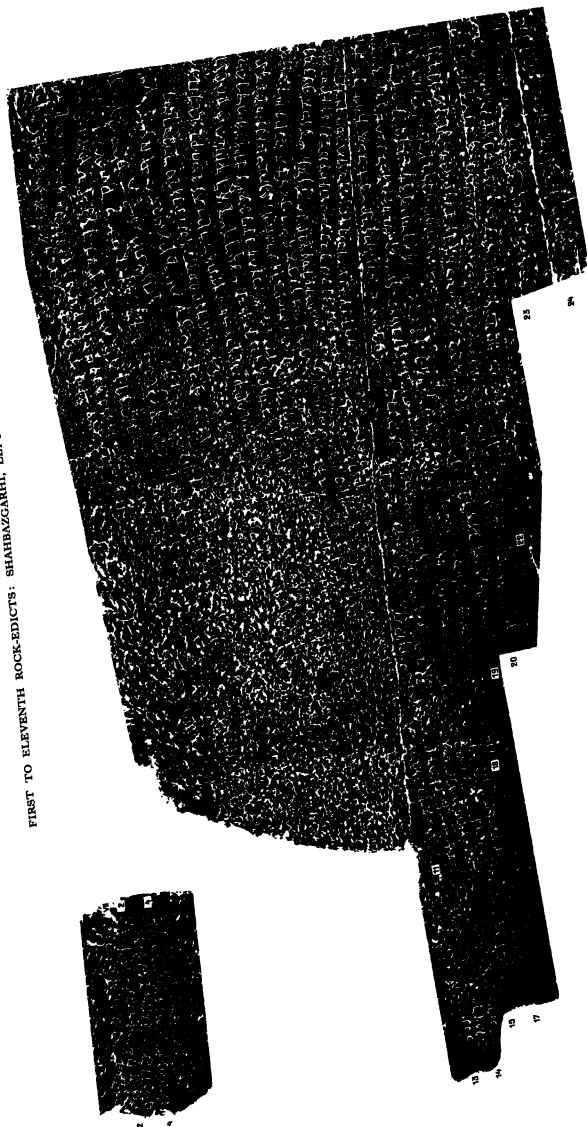
¹ [dha]ma- Buhler.² badhana- Buhler.³ mahalaka Buhler.⁴ bhratunay Buhler.⁵ yam iṣṭam Buhler⁶ ma[ha] Buhler⁷ ay[am] Buhler⁸ This and the last four words of the edit were entered above the line.⁹ Buhler omitted me¹⁰ vṛkṣatī is the future of vṛkṣati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhi (VI, L, and XIII, S).

For Pītṛikā vāchakā=Skt. vṛjati see Ilāmachandra, IV, 225.

²¹ For Rāthika and Pītṛika Gīrnā reads Rāstika and Pētṛika. As Lathika at Dhauī agrees with Rāthika at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā, Rāstika at Gīrnā may be a clerical mistake for Rāstika, just as parikamāte for parākamāte in X, l 3, Devanām for Dīvānam in XI, l 1, and duti for dūtā in XII, l 9. Conversely, aśā is written for aśi in IX, l 7, pītā for pītā in XI, l 2, and vṛvādāya for vṛvadhaya in XII, l 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāstika would be Rāshtrika. The identifications of this name with Surāshtra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or Lata (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Asoka's empire; cf. Buhler, *ZDMG*, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāshtrika with Mahārashtra, the Pāli form of which, Mahāraṣṭra, occurs in the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. Could the Rāshtrikas be identical with the Arastai of the Panjab (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀραστῆες who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀραχωῆες and Γανδάριοι?

¹¹ [odhe] Buhler, read ²godhaye (= ²godhāya at Gīrnā).¹² Restore anubadhā; yam a[n]ubā[dh]am Buhler.¹³ viyapata Buhler. ¹⁴ Buhler omitted te.¹⁵ Read spasuna, spasunay Buhler.¹⁶ niṣite Buhler.¹⁷ savatra Buhler¹⁸ There is a vacant space here.¹⁹ dīpist[a] Buhler.

FIRST TO ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI, LEFT HALF



Scale Centimeters



(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahamātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 14 (A) देवनांप्रियो प्रियद्राशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिप्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठकमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व अवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निरुति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे
- 15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतरिणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सबलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एच उचनं अठसंतरिण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतं
- 16 सबलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इअ च व मुखयमि परच च स्ययं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि धम निपिस्त चिरपितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सबलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

- 14 (A) *Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrāśi raya eva*³ *ahati* (B) *atikratam aṃtara*⁴ *na bhuta-pruvarāṃ sava[m]*⁵ *kala[m]* *atha-kramam*⁶ *va paṭivedana va* (C) *ta[m]* *maya eva[m]* *kiṭa[m]* (D) *savram kalam aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraṣpi vracaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka*⁷ *aṭham janasa pativedetu*⁸

¹ *paṭigodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

² See above, p. 34, n. 3.

³ *eva[m]* Buhler.

⁴ *antarāṃ* Buhler.

⁵ *savram* Buhler.

⁶ *atha-* Buhler.

⁷ *savatra patra* Buhler.

⁸ *pat[r]* Buhler.

- 17 (A) atikratam ataram¹ Devanāmpriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha edisani² abhiramani abhuvasu³ (C) so Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī raja dāsa-vasabhisito satam⁴ nikrami Sabodhi⁵ (D) tenada⁶ dhrāma-yatra⁷ (E) atra iyam hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇaṇaṁ draśane danam vudhana[m] daśana⁸ hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane⁹ cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana¹⁰ dhramaṇuṣṭi dhrama-pa[ni]p[ru]chha¹¹ cha tatopayaṁ (F) eshe¹² bhuy[e] rājī bhoti¹³ Devanāmpriyasa Priyadrasīsa raño bhago¹⁴ añiñi

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devanāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
 (C) But when king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.¹⁴
 (E) On these (tour-) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brahmanas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अचवे अचवे विचवे पञ्चपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशि ये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु क्षियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरदिधं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व सो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु सो एत (F) इमं तु सो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अच इम दसभटकस सम्पटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रखनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च भ्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुषेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसकुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अद्रस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन
- 20 इमं कवं (I) ये हि एतके मंगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन भ्रममंगलं अकालिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अच परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भीति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमंगलेन

¹ atikratam ataram Buhler.² [A]edisani Buhler.³ abhuvasu Buhler.⁴ satam Buhler.⁵ sabodhi Buhler.⁶ tenada Buhler.⁷ dhrama- Buhler.⁸ draśane Buhler.⁹ -paṭivīdhane Buhler.¹⁰ draśana Buhler.¹¹ -pa[ni]p[ru]chha Buhler.¹² eshe Buhler.¹³ hoti Buhler.¹⁴ bhag Buhler.¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadarśi r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṃ maṃgalaṃ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añaye cha ediśiy[e]² jano ba³ maṃgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṃ cha putika⁴ cha niraṭhiyaṃ⁵ cha maṃgalaṃ karo[ti]⁶ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṃgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imam [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṃgala⁹
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti prañanaṃ sa[r̥]ṇyamo¹¹ śamana-bramaṇa¹² dana etaṃ añam cha dhrama-maṃga[lam] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana¹³ pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativceṣiyena imam sadhu [imaṃ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṃgala[r̥]ṇ yava tasa aṭhara¹⁶ nivuṣiya nivuṣasvi va p[u]na¹⁷
- 20 imaṃ kasham¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saśayike²⁰ tam (J) siya vo tam aṭham nivaṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo tam²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama-magalam akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna tam aṭham na nivaṭ[e]²⁶ ia²⁷ atha paratra anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna tam ṭham²⁸ nivaṭeti tato u[bha]ṭ[e]ṣa²⁹ ladhaṃ bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anantam puṇam prasavati tena dhrama-maṃgalena³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,¹⁸ (and) when setting out on a journey, on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive²² and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas, these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

¹ Read *ataye*, which is Buhler's reading.

² Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānschra.

³ Read *bahu*.

⁴ *putika[r̥]* Buhler.

⁵ *nirathriyaṃ* Buhler.

⁶ *kaṭotne* Buhler.

⁷ Buhler omitted *va*.

⁸ *etaṃ* Buhler.

⁹ Read *dhrama-*, *-maṃgala[m]* Buhler.

¹⁰ *-pratipati* Buhler.

¹¹ *saiyama* Buhler.

¹² *śamana-* Buhler.

¹³ Read *bhratana*, which is Buhler's reading.

¹⁴ *-samstutena* Buhler.

¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ *athasa* Buhler.

¹⁷ *puna* Buhler.

¹⁸ *ke[śa]* Buhler.

¹⁹ *et[ā]le* Buhler.

²⁰ *so[śi]śiyike* Buhler.

²¹ *puna* Buhler.

²² Buhler omitted *no*.

²³ *ialokach[e]* Buhler.

²⁴ *tiṭhe* Buhler.

²⁵ *iya* Buhler.

²⁶ Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānschra.

²⁷ *[k]ia* Buhler.

²⁸ Read *tasi aṭham*, Buhler read *[a]ṭham for tasi aṭham*.

²⁹ *ubhaya* Buhler.

³⁰ *ia* Buhler.

³¹ Read *dhrama-maṃgalena*.

³² For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

³³ Instead of *putika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so)

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if¹ one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्ज च यो पि यशो किट्टि व इहति तदत्तये अयति य च जने धम्मसुखसु सुखुवतु मे ति धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधिपयतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व इहति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सव्वं परसिक्खये व किति सकले अपरिसवे सियति (D) एवे तु परिसवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एवे खुदुकेन वयेन उससेन व अज्ज च अयेन परक्रमेन सव्वं परित्तित्तु (F) अज्ज च उससे

- 21 (A) *Devanapriye Priyadrasī raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahāṭṭhavaḥ maññati aññatra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadattaye² ayatiya cha jane dhama-sukha³ sukhuvatu me ti dhammavuttaṃ cha anuvīdhiyyatu* (B) *etakaye Devanapriye⁴ Priyadrasī raya yaśo⁵ kiṭṭi va*
22 *ichhati* (C) *ya[m] tu kicchi parakramati Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī raya tam sav[r]am paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisave siyati* (D) *eshe tu parisave yam apuññaṃ* (E) *dukare⁶ [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usāṭṭena va aññatra agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijjitu* (F) *at[r]a⁷ chu usāṭṭe*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

² *tadattaye* Buhler, but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

³ Read *-sukhasaiṃ*.

⁴ *Devanāmpriye* Buhler.

⁵ Buhler added *z*.

⁶ *dukaraṇi* Buhler.

⁷ *etam* (which is also possible) Buhler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT : SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं भ्रमदन
भ्रमसंस्त्रवे भ्रमसंक्मिगो भ्रमसंबंध (C) तथ एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुसुष मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं अमणभ्रमण
21 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुवेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
मिचसंस्तुतन अथ प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं
इसलोक च अरथेति परथ च अनतं पुज प्रसवति

25 तेन भ्रमदनेन

- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadrāśi raya evaṃ hahati¹ (B) nāsti ed[i]śam danam
yadiśam dhrama-dana² dhrama-saṃstava[c] dh[r]ama-samvibhāgo dh[r]ama-
samba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etam dasa-bhaṭakanam sammma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu
suśruṣha mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-jātikānam śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa⁵
24 dana pranana⁶ anara[m]bho (D) etam vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi
[spa]mikena⁷ pi mitra-saṃstutana⁸ ava prativēśiyena [i]ma[m]hi⁹ sadhu imam
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] loka¹⁰ cha a[r]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puja¹¹
prasavati
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ aka ti Buhler

² -danam Buhler.

³ -sambandho Buhler.

⁴ samma-pratipati Buhler.

⁵ -brahmananāṃ Buhler.

⁶ danāni prananaṃ Buhler.

⁷ [sa]mikena Buhler.

⁸ Read -saṃstutena, which is Buhler's reading.

⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.

¹⁰ karantam loka[m] Buhler.

¹¹ puṇam Buhler

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रक्षि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि यहचनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध (D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परप्रषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषंड-
- 4 इ तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति (G) तद अजय करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षयति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कषि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं गरहति सत्रे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं वढतरं उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो समयो वो सधु किति अजमजस भनो
- 7 शुयेयु च मुशुयेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तथ तथ
- 8 प्रसन तेथं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अट . .
- 9 वपट भममहमच इक्षिपियक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भेति
- 10 भमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) *Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrakṣi raya savra-praśaṃdani pravrajita[ni]*¹ grahathani² cha pujeti dancna vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na³ va puja va
- 2 *Devanāṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vadhi siya savra-praśaṃdānam* (C) sala-vadhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yañ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃda-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃda-garana va no siya [a]pakaranasī⁴ lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ⁵ ata-ṣ[ra]śaṃdān vadhēti para-praśaṃdarisa⁶ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha⁷ ka[ra]min[o]⁸ ata-p[ra]śaṃda]⁹

¹ This word was entered above the line, *pravrajita* Buhler.

² *graha[tha]m* Buhler.

³ *aparakaranasī* Buhler.

⁴ Read *dasa*, which is Buhler's reading.

⁵ *ka[rata cha]* Buhler.

⁵ *dana[ni]* Buhler.

⁶ *karat[am]* Buhler.

⁷ Read *tad-añatha*.

⁹ *-praśaṃdān* Buhler.

- 5 kṣaṇāti para-[pra]śhadaśa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-praśhadaṃ pujeṭi
[para]-p[ra]śhada[rh]³ garahati savre ata-praśhada-bhātiya va kiti
6 ata-praśhadaṃ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṃtaṃ so cha puna tatha
karatam⁴ ba[dhata]raṃ upahanti ata-praśhadaṃ (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti
aṇamaṇasa dhrama
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evaṃ hi Devanāṃpriyasa ichha kiti savra-
prashaṃda bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[āṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
8 prasana tesha[rh] vatavo (L) Devanāṃpriyo⁵ na [tatha da]na[rh] va p[u]ja va
maṇāti ya[tha] kiti sala-vadhi siyati savra-praśhadaṃ (M) bahuka cha etaye
a[tha] . . .⁶
9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁷ aṇe
cha nikaye (N) imaṃ cha etisa [pha]laṃ yaṃ ata-paśhada-vadhi⁸ [bh]o[ti]
10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Lōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects : (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāṃpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control⁹ alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāṃpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāṃpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.⁹

¹-prashanidasa Buhler.

²k[o]chi Buhler.

³-prash[a]da Buhler.

Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

Restore athaye.

vacha- Buhler.

⁷-prashada- Buhler.

Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātis* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock

- 1 (A) अटवषअभिसितस देवनप्रियस मिअद्रश्चिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअटमचे प्रणशतसहस्रे ये ततो अपबुढे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अपुन लपेषु कलिंगेषु तिमे भ्रमशिलन भ्रमकमत भ्रमनुशक्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रियस विजिनिति कलिंगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तच वध व मरयं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति भ्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रघंड यह्य व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिषसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 अतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपत्ति द्रिढभतिता तेष तच भोति अपययो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मिषसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तच तं पि तेष वो अपप्रयो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सप्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्यि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च मुटो च अपबुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इक्षति हि देवनप्रियो सप्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो भ्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लपो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेधु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षपु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिक्सुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अच तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिंद रजविषवस्य योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपित्तिनिक्षेपु अन्नपल्लिदेसु सबच देवनंप्रियस भ्रमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यच
पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुदं विधनं
भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियंति च (T) यो स लपे एतकेन
भोति सबच विजयो सबच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लप भोति प्रिति भ्रमविजयस्मि (V) लहुक तु खो स
प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेजति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अठये अयि
भ्रमदिपि निपिस्स किति पुष पपोष मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविअ
मजिषु स्पकस्मि यो विजये खंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो भ्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिक्को परलोकिक्को (Z) सबचतिरति भोतु य
भ्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक्क परलोकिक्क

- 1 (A) [a]ṣṭha-vaśa-a[bhi]jita[s]a¹ Devana]pri[a]ṣa Pri[a]drasīsa ra[n]iō Ka[li]ga
vi[j]ita (B) diadha-mat[r]e² prana-śata-[-saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-
sahasra³ matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]⁴ m[ute]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]ṣṭha⁵ a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu⁶ uvre dhrama-śilana]⁷
dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana⁸
Devanap[ri]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]⁹
- 3 (E) avijitani [hi vi]jīnamano yo¹⁰ tat[r]a vadha¹¹ va maranam va apavaho va
janasa tam baddham v[e]dani[ya]-mat[am] guru-mata[m] cha Devanampriyasa
(F) idam¹² pi chu [tato] guru-matātaram [Devanamp]riyasa (G) ye tatra¹³
- 4 vasati¹⁴ brahmana va śrama[na] va a[m]hā va prashamda gra[ha]tha va jesu vihita
esha agrabhūti-suśrūsha mata-pitushu suśrūsha guruna¹⁵ suśrūsha mitra
samstuta sahaya-
- 5 ātikesu dāsa-bhūtakanam samma-pratipa[ti] dridha-bhātita¹⁶ tesha¹⁷ tatra bhōti
[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhūratana va nikramanam (H) yesha va pi
suvhitanam¹⁸ [si]ho¹⁹ aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ātika vasana
- 6 prapūnati [ta]tra tam pi tesha vo apagratho²⁰ bhōti (I) pratibhagam cha
[e]tam savra-manuśanam²¹ guru-matam cha Devanampriya[s]a (J) nāsti
cha ekatara²² pi prashadāsi²³ na nama pravādo (K) so yamatiō [ja]ho tada
Kalige [ha]to cha mut[o] cha apav[udha]²⁴ cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagam va [a]ja guru-matani v[o] Devanampriyasa (L) yo
pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va²⁵ Devanamp[r]iyasa jam śako
kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha atavi Devanampriyasa vijite bhōti ta pi anūneti
anunijapeti²⁶ (N) anutape pi cha prabhava

¹ a[ṣṭha]- Buhler.² [diadha]- Buhler³ Buhler omitted ra⁴ [pa]ṣṭha Buhler⁵ [Kaligeshu] Buhler⁶ [-palanani] Buhler⁷ n[am] Buhler.⁸ priyasa vijinīti Ka[li]nga[ni] Buhler⁹ man[us]ya Buhler.¹⁰ tadha Buhler¹¹ imam Buhler¹² tatra [hi] for ye tatra Buhler¹³ vasanti Buhler¹⁴ gurunam Buhler.¹⁵ dūha- Buhler¹⁶ tesham Buhler¹⁷ samra¹⁸ Buhler¹⁸ Read samra, [ni]ho Buhler.¹⁹ Read apagratho, which is Buhler's reading²⁰ savram manu Buhler²¹ kataraspi Buhler²² prashamdaspi Buhler²³ apavudh[e] Buhler²⁴ va Buhler.²⁵ Read nishapeti, which is Buhler's reading

- 8 **Devanāṃpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāmpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamañ sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (P) ayi¹ cha mukha-mu[ā]² vijaye **Devanāmpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāmpriyasa** iha cha savaśhu³ cha aṃteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Aṃtiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** parañ cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**⁴ chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama **Aṃtikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṇḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapath[ti]ya**⁵ (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vi-havaspi⁶ **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**⁷
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitiniakeshu** **Aṃdhra-Palideshu**⁸ savatra **Devanāmpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṃtanti (S) yatra pi **Devanāmpriyasa** duta na vrachanti te pi śrutu **Devanāmpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭaṃ vidh[a]nañ⁹ dhramanuśasti dhramañ [a]nuvidhiyañti anuvihiyiśaṃ[ti] cha (T) yo [sa]¹⁰ ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[otu] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha athaye ayi¹¹ dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]¹² kiti putra papotra me asu navañ vijayañ ma vijetav[i]a¹³ mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[c kshañ]ti cha lahu-da[m]data¹⁴ cha rochetu tañ cha yo¹⁵ vija¹⁶ mañā[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati¹⁷ bhotu ya [dh]rañma-rati¹⁸ (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kālīngas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kālīngas** has been taken, **Dēvanāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,¹⁸ to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvanāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kālīngas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvanāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvanāmpriya**.

¹ eshu Buhler. ² -mule Buhler. ³ sa[vre]śhu Buhler. ⁴ Aṃtiyokena Buhler.

⁵ pañiṣya Buhler. ⁶ Viśha-Vajra Buhler. ⁷ Nabhake Na[bhi]tina Buhler.

⁸ -Puth[di]śhu Buhler. ⁹ vidhenañ Buhler. ¹⁰ [cha] Buhler.

¹¹ ayo Buhler. ¹² [di]pata Buhler. ¹³ tav[iya]ñ Buhler.

¹⁴ -dam[da]ñ Buhler. ¹⁵ tani e[va] Buhler. ¹⁶ Read vijayañ, as at Kālsī.

¹⁷ sava cha mrati Buhler. ¹⁸ [s]rama- Buhler.

¹⁹ dhrama-śilana (= Skt. dharma-śilana) is the equivalent of dhammarāḍyo at Gīrṇār, see above, p. 24, n. 14

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

LEFT HALF

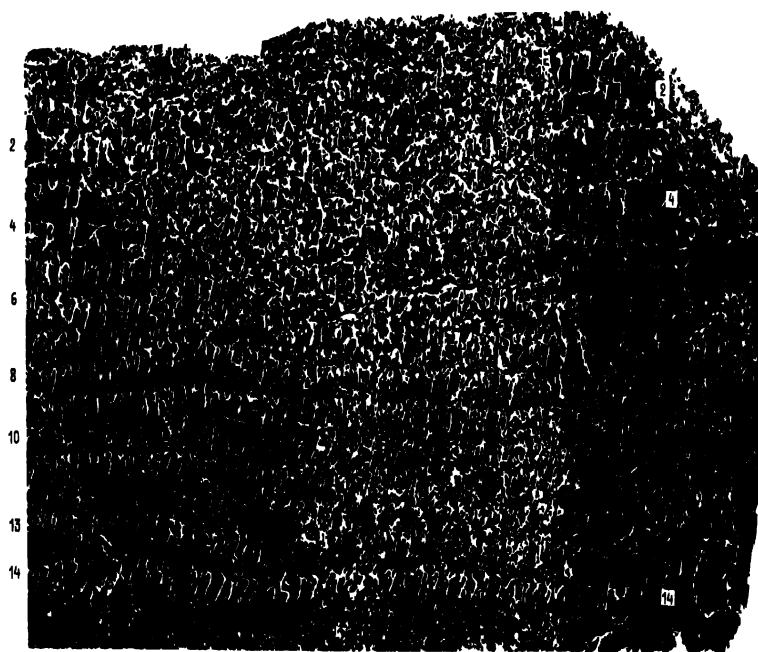


SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

Br 17115

RIGHT HALF



(G) (To) the Brāhmanas or Śramanas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in *Kaliṅga*, (would) now be considered very deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(L) And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be for given is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by *Dēvānāmpriya*, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ The meaning of *apagatha* is fixed by the various readings *apagāte* (Kāl-i) and *apagātū* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*, see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granthi*.—Bühler ZDMG, 43, 174.

² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhi version.

³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 174 f.), the nom. plur. *atavā* is used in the sense of *ātavakāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasamgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is शत्रुः शत्रुभिः, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nyāpayaśaiti* and *nyāpayaṭi* (or *nyāpayaṭave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nyāp[e]ṭaṇiye* in the Jaugada separate edict I, R, and *nyāṭi* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauḥ and Jaugada, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2, 471) rendered *anutaṭe prabhavē* (i. e. *anutāṭe prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāṭa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anukaya* or *anukāṣana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhavē* = Skt. *prabhavit*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhi the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-yaṭi*, cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

⁶ I adopt Luders' rendering of the last two words of this section, see SPAW, 1914, 851. The Girnār and Kālsi versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasiye*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

⁷ *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Ārārāḥ and Allahabad-Kōśam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (*viz.* the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparāṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,¹ among the **Bhōjas** and **Pittinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it)

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (*viz.*) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),⁴ which is pleasure in morality

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBĀZGARHI

13 (A) अयि भ्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिश्चिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन अस्ति वो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससमे गटिने (C) महलके हि विजिते बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ

14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

¹ The Kāśī version reads *Nābhapaṇṭis* for *Nabhitis*.

² See above, p. 48, n. 14.

³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kāśī and Mānschrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhi reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prakrit substantive *hatts* = Skt. *tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.

- 13 (A) *ayi*¹ *dhrama-dipi*² *Devanāṃpriyena Prīti*[na]³ *raña* *nipesapita*⁴ *asti* *vo* *samkshiteṇa*⁵ *asti* *yo* *vistṛiṇa* (B) *na* *hi* *śavatra*⁶ *śasavre*⁷ *gatite*⁸ (C) *mahalak*⁹ *hi* *vijite* *bahu* *cha* *likhite* *likha*[p]eśami *cheva* (D) *asti* *chu*¹⁰ *atra* *puna* *puna* [la]pitaṁ *tasa* *tasa* [a]tṛasa *madhuriyaye* *ye*[na] *jana* *tatha*
- 14 *patipajeyati*¹¹ (E) *so* *siya* *va* *atra* *kiche*¹² *asamatam* *likhitam* *deśam* *va* *samkhay*[a]¹³ *karana* *va* *alocheti* *dipikarasa* *va* *aparadhena*

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹¹ by king *Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form) or at full length

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly¹⁴

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,¹⁵ or by the fault of the writer

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

A First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किच्छि
जिवे अरभित्तु प्रजोहि-
- 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये
प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु
- 3 एकतिय समज मधुमत देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि
देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
- 4 जिने अनुदिवस बुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपण्ये (G) से द
अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मञ्जु-
- 5 र एके ज्जिने से पि चु ज्जिने नो भुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तनि प्रणनि पच नो
अरभि

¹ *ayo* Buhler.

² There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*

³ Read *Priyadarśina*

⁴ *dipīto* Buhler

⁵ *samkshiteṇa* Buhler

⁶ *śavatra* Buhler

⁷ Read *śavre*, [śo] *śavre* Buhler

⁸ *cha* Buhler

⁹ *prate* Buhler

¹⁰ Read *kuchi*, which is Buhler's reading

¹¹ *samkhaya* Buhler

¹² With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitam* in the Shahbāzgarhi edict IV, K

¹³ With the optative *patipajeyati* (= **yati* at Dhauhi and Jaugada) cf. *aparakajati* (VIII, 1 ;) *unvateyati* (IX, 1. 20), and *vyati* (= **yati* or *shiyati* at Kalsi), see above, p. 10, n. 1

¹⁴ See above, p. 8, n. 3

- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priya[na] Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi¹ ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-
 2 taviye² (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye³ (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priya] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa]⁴ rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]sī [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni prana-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arab]h[isu] supa[thra]ye (G) s[e].....[da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-
 5 ra [e]k[e]⁵ m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i] chu mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi] . . .

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सबष चिजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजिने ये च क्षत क्षच
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुष केरलपुष तंबपणि क्षतियोगे नम योनरज ये च क्ष.....स
 गस समत रजने सबष प्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजिने
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कठ मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु.....कनि
 च प.....कनि च क्षच क्षच नक्षि सबष हरपित च रोपपित च
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च क्षच क्षच नक्षि सबष हरपित च रोपपित च
 (D) मगेषु रुद्धनि रोपपितनि पितनि पटिभोगये पशु-
 मुनिशनं
 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasī Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa rajine ye cha ata⁷ atha
 6 [Choḍa] Pa[m̐di]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra⁸ [Taṁ]bapani [A]tiyoge⁹
 nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a]....sa.....[gasā] samata¹⁰ ra[jane sa]vratra
 priyasa Priyadrasīsa rajine
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ta manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni¹¹
 manu...ka[ni cha] pa...[kani cha atra atra¹² nasti savra]tra [ha]rapit[ta
 cha] ropapita cha
 8 (C) c[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha
 ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani¹³ [ropa]p[ṭani]¹⁴ [ṭi]tani
 paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanam¹⁵

¹ [Dr]vana[pri]yena Buhler.² kichi Buhler.³ pra[yuho]taviye Buhler.⁴ sama[ja] kṭaviya Buhler.⁵ [P'i]yadrasī[ne] Buhler.⁶ Buhler inverted the figure '1'.⁷ anta Buhler.⁸ putr[e] Buhler.⁹ tyo[ke] Böhler.¹⁰ samanta Böhler.¹¹ osha[dhi]ni Böhler.¹² ya]tra yatra Buhler.¹³ ru[chha] Böhler.¹⁴ The next symbol (read [ku] by Böhler) may be the first letter (n) of *udupanani*.¹⁵ -m[a]nūtana Buhler.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवदशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते
(C) सव्रच बिजितसि त रजु .. प्रदेशिके पंचसु पंचसु ५ वषेषु
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अणूये इमये ध्रमनुशस्त्रिये यष अजये पि क्रमये
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष भिवसंस्तुत-
11 जतिकनं च व्रमणध्रमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभदत सधु
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-
12 नते च
- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetena¹
me iyam² [anapayit]e (C) savrat[ra] vijitasi . ta³ [ra]ju . pradesiki
[par]chashu pam[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
10 anusa[m]lyana[m] nikramatu⁴ etaye va⁵ athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]⁶
añaye⁷ pi krama[ne]⁸ (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[ś]rūsha mitra]-sa[m]tuta-
11 śatikanam cha bra[ma]na-śramana[m]⁹ sadhu dane pranana [anara]bhe sadhu
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[da]ta[] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[na]nasa
[anapa]yīśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yamja]-
12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रंत अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन
असपटिपति अमणध्रमणन असंपटिपति
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने ध्रमचरणे भेरिषोषे अहो धमषोषे
विमनद्रशन अस्त्रिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वडिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने
रजिने ध्रमनुशस्त्रिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन
15 संपटिपति वमणध्रमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष वुधन सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे
च बहुविधे ध्रमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुच पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवदयिशति यो ध्रमचरण इमं अवकपं ध्रमे शिले च

¹ Read *bhisstena. ² ayam Bühler. ³ [me]. ta Bühler ⁴ nikrama[m]tu Bühler

⁵ vam Bühler. What he took for an Anuvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *da* (XIII, 10), *dha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3, IV, 15, XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5, V, 20, 26, XII, 4, cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).

⁶ ya . am Bühler. ⁷ añaye Bühler. ⁸ kramane Bühler ⁹ .śramanana[m] Bühler

- 17 चिदितु भ्रमं अनुवृत्तिं (G) एवे हि खेदे खं भ्रमनुवृत्तन (H) भ्रमचरये पि च
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अणुस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
18 अणुये इयं लिखिते एतस अणुस वध्रि युजंतु हनि च म अलोचयिसु (K)
दुवदशवध्रिभित्तिनेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रजिन इयं लिखिते
- 12 (A) atikratam ata[raṁ]¹ bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo² prañaram[ḥ]c vihi[śa]
cha bhutanam fiatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[na]-bramanana³ asa[ṁ]paṭipati
13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasīne rajīne dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na bheri-
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe⁴ vimana-draśana asti[ne]⁵ agi-kamdhan[i] añña[ni]
cha] di[vaṁ]i rupani draśeti janasa
14 (C) [a]dise bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]jia vadhite [De]vana-
priyasa Priyadrasīne rajīne dhramanuśastiya anarabhe pranana⁶ avihisa
bhutana fiatina
15 sampatipati bamana-śramaṇana⁷ sa[ṁ]paṭipati mata-pitushu⁸ suśru[śha] vudhrana
[su]śrusha (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charaṇe vadhrite (E)
vadhrayiśati yeva Devanapriye
16 Priyadrasī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa⁹ ima[ṁ]¹⁰ (F) [putra] pi cha ka¹¹ natare cha
panatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadrasīne¹² rajīne pava[dh]ayiśanti yo¹³ dhrama-
charaṇa imam [a]va-kapam dhrame śile cha
17 [chi]thitu¹⁴ dhra[mam] anu[śa]śiśanti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśaśana
(H) dhrama [cha]a[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[śa]śa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri
ahi[ni] cha sadhu (J) etaye
18 athraye i[yaṁ]¹⁵ li[khi]te c[ta]śa [athra]śa vadhra¹⁶ yu[jam]tu hini cha ma
[alo]chay[i]su¹⁷ (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-
drasīna rajīna iya[m] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEIIRA

- 19 (A) देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलशं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयस
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयये कटे (E) तं मय पुच च
20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवटिंशति से सुकट कवति
(F) ये च अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कवति
21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव भ्रममहमच नम (I)
से वेदशवध्रिभित्तिनेन मय भ्रममहमच कट (J) ते सप्रपदेव
22 वपुट भ्रमधियनये च भ्रमवध्रिय हिदमुखये च भ्रमयुतस योनकवोजगधरन
रटिकपित्तिनिकन ये च पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

¹ a[ni]ta[raṁ] Bühler² dhrama-goshe Bühler.³ -braṇanana Bühler.⁴ ima Bühler⁵ Bühler omitted yo⁶ anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.⁷ vadhite vām Bühler.⁸ hastine Bühler.⁹ matu- Bühler.¹⁰ ku Bühler¹¹ [ti]stisu Bühler¹² -bramanana Bühler.¹³ prañana Bühler.¹⁴ dhrama- Bühler¹⁵ Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīne Bühler¹⁶ i[mam] Bühler.¹⁷ Read vadhri.

- 23 बु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनयेषु बुधेषु हिदसुखये भ्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)
वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुवध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु
च नगरेषु सवेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे अतिके सवच वियपट (N) ए इयं भ्रमनिशितो तो व भ्रमधिचने
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सवच विजितसि मञ्ज भ्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अचये अयि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरदितिक होतु तच च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyona¹ Priyadrasī raja eva[m] aha (B) kalana[m] dukara[m]
(C) ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti (D) tam maya bahu [ka]yana-
[ka]re (E) [a]m ma[a] putra [cha]
20 natar[e] cha² para³ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam tatha anuvatisati⁴ se
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapaṭati se dukata kashati
21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave⁵ (H) s[c] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva
dhrama [ma]hamatra nama (I) se tretaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-
mahamatra (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha⁶
22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yuta-
Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana⁷ Ratthika-Pitinikana⁸ ye va pi añe aparata (K)
bha[ṭa]maye-
23 shu brahamanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]⁹ dhrama-yuta-
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanaye] apalibodhaye
mokshay[e cha iyam]
24 anubadha p[r]aja¹⁰ ti[i] va kaṭṭabbhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyaprata te (M)
hida¹¹ bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana¹² cha
s[as]u[na] [cha]
25 ye va pi añe ñatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyam dhrama-niśito to¹³ va
dhramadhithane ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasī maa dhrama-yutasi
vapuṭa [te]
26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ñhitika hotu
tatha¹⁴ cha me praja anuvaṭatu

¹ Read *priye, which is Bühler's reading.

² Bühler omitted cha.

³ param Bühler.

⁴ tatham anuvati[ṭ]ati Bühler

⁵ supadare va[a] Bühler.

⁶ Read *deshu, which is Bühler's reading

⁷ -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

⁸ Ratrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (this) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-garhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like *kani*, but the apparent Anusvara is the optional bottom-line of the letter Cf the ka of *chira-ñhitika*, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

⁹ hidañ- Bühler.

¹⁰ praja Bühler, ja looks like ju

¹¹ hidañ Bühler

¹² Read bhatana.

¹³ -ñitito ti Bühler, read ti for to

¹⁴ tatham Bühler

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रक्षि रज एवं अज (B) अतिक्रान्तं अतारं
 27 न हुताप्रुवे सवर्णं कलं अणूक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किंटे (D) सव
 कलं अणतस मे ओरोधने यभगरसि वचस्मि विनितस्मि उवनस्मि सवच
 पटिवेदक अणू जनस
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अणू करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किञ्चि मुखतो
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अचकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके करोपिते
 होति
 29 तये अणूये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलिनेन पटिवेदतविने मे
 सवच सव कलं (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तीये उदनसि
 अणसंतिरणये च
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकाहिते (J) तस च पुन एवे मुले उदने अणूसतिरण
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकाहितेन (L) यं च किञ्चि परक्रममि अणं
 किति भुतनं
 31 अणयिणं येहं इज्ज च वे सुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अणूये
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरदितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-
 32 लोकाहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अजच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) *Devanapriye¹ Priyadrasī raja* [e]va[r̥h] aa² (B) *atikratam ataram³*
 27 *na⁴ huta-pruve* [sa]vra[n] kala athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va (C) *ta maya evam*
kiṭam (D) *savra kalam aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vracaspi vinitaspi*
uyanaspi savratra pa[t̥i][ve]da[ka] athra janasa
 28 *pativedetu me* (E) *savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham* (F) *yam pi cha⁵*
kichhi⁶ mukhato⁷ anapemi aham dapakan va śravakam va ye⁸ va puna
mahamatrehi achayike aropite⁹ hoti
 29 *taye athraye vivade nijati¹⁰ va samta par[iśa]lye a[na]taliyena pativedtaviye¹¹*
me savratra savra kala (G) *evam anapita maya* (H) *nasti hi me toshe*
[uthanasī] ath[r̥a-sa[r̥h]īranaye cha
 30 (I) *kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]kte* (J) *[ta]sa chu puna eśhe mule uṭhan¹²*
athra-satirana cha (K) *nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena* (L) *ya[m] cha*
[kichhi]¹³ pa[rakra]mami aam¹⁴ k[i]ṭ[i] bh[u]tanam
 31 *ananiyam¹⁵ ye[ham] ia cha she¹⁶ sukhayami paratra cha spagra¹⁷ a[r̥a]khetu ti*

¹ *Devana[ni]priye* Bühler.² *aha* Bühler.³ *atikramitani atitaram* Bühler.⁴ *n[e]* Bühler⁵ Bühler omitted *cha*.⁶ *kichī* Bühler.⁷ *mukhato* looks almost like *mukhata*, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ *yam* Bühler.⁹ *aropita* Bühler.¹⁰ Read *nijhata*, which is Bühler's reading¹¹ *a[na]m[i]taliyena pativeditaviye* Bühler.¹² *[k̥i]k̥i* Bühler.¹³ *aham* Bühler.¹⁴ *ananiyam* Bühler.¹⁵ *sha* Bühler.¹⁶ *spagram* Bühler.

(M) se etaye athraye iyañ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ñhitika¹ hotu ta[tha ' cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate² sa[vra]-

32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha³ kho [a]ñātra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रच इच्छति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयम भवशुधि च

33 इच्छति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति क्खित्तत द्विभतित च

34 निचे वदं

32 (A) Devanapriyo⁴ Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pasha(ḥa) vaseyu (B) savre hi te sa[ya]ma [lha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichhañ]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-ehhade⁵ uchavucha-ḥage (D) te savram eka-deśaṁ va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme⁶ bhava-śuti⁷ kitanata dridha-bhatita⁸ cha

34 niche badham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्रानं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इक्ष क्षिगविय अजानि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि

35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद धमयद (E) अच इय होति शमणधम्मणन द्रशने दने च बुध्न द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च

36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने धमनुशस्ति च धमपरिपुक्क च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस

37 रजिने भगे अणे

34 (A) a[ti]kratañ atarañ¹⁰ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramiṣhu (B) ia¹¹ mrigaviya añāni cha eḍiṣāni abhiramani husu (C) [r] Devanap[r]iy[e] P[r]iyadraśi

35 raja dāsa-vashabhisite sarita[m] nikrami Sabodhi¹² (D) tenada dhrama yada¹³

¹ -ñhitika Bühler.

² tathani Bühler.

³ omanite Bühler

⁴ chu Bühler

⁵ [priye] Bühler.

⁶ -chade Bühler.

⁷ sayame Bühler

⁸ Read -śudh.

⁹ dridhra- Bühler.

¹⁰ amītaram Bühler.

¹¹ s[ha] Bühler.

¹² sambodhi Bühler

¹³ tenaḍa[am] dhrama-yatra Bühler. What looks like an Anuvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24, VIII, 36. IX, 8 (twice), X, 9, XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n 7

- (E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramanana¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[śa]ne
[cha hi]jā-paṭivi[dhane³ cha]
36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa][i]puchha cha tatopaya
(F) ehe bhuye rati hoti **Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa**
37 **rajjine** bhage ane

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
2 अवधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्सि एतये अजये च एदिश्ये जने
3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु अवकजनिक् बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरप्पिय
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एवे (F) इयं चु खो महफले वे भ्रममगले (G) अच
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिंति
5 प्रणन सयमे अमणमणन दने एवे अणे च एदिशे भ्रममगले नम (H) से
वतविये पितुन पि पुचन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
6 मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अपूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि च पुन इम कवमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
7 शयिके से (J) सिय व तं अप्पुं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदल्लोकिक् चेव से
(L) इयं पुन भ्रममगले अकलिके (M) हवे पि तं अप्पुं नो निवटेति हिद
अच परच
8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हवे पुन तं अप्पुं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरथे होति
हिद च से अणे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन भ्रममगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evam aha (B) jane uchavucha[rh ma]gala[rh]
karoti
2 abadhasi a[va]jhasi vi[va]jhasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]śa[r]
jane]
3 bahu maṅga[la]m ka[ro]ti (C) atra tu abaka-janika⁴ bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda
cha nirathriya cha magalam karoti (D) se kaṭaviye ch[eva]⁵ kho
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-
magale⁶ (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhatakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
5 pra[n]a [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramanana [dane] eshe ane cha ediśc dhrama-magale
nama (H) se vataviye pu[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna⁷ pi spamikena pi
6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]ya paṭivesiyyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tassa
athrasa nivuttiya nivuttasi va puna ima [ka]śhami ti⁸ (I) c hi [i]tare⁹ maga[le]

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.⁴ baka for abaka- Bühler.⁷ bhratuna Bühler.² vudhrana Bühler.⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.⁸ k[c]ś[a]miti Bühler.³ Read hiraṇa-.⁶ -maṅgale Bühler.⁹ [a]t[ra]ke Bühler.

- 7 śa[śa]yke se (J) ś[i]ya va tam athram nivaṭeya ś[i]a pana no (K) hida[o]kike
cheva se¹ (L) iyañ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi tam athram
no² nivaṭeti [hi]la a[tha] paratra
8 anata puna³ prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athram⁴ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
ubhayesañ [ara]dhe⁵ hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata⁷ punam
prasavati tena dhramagalena⁸

TENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महधूवहं मजति अणच यं पि
यशो व किटि व इक्षति तदत्तये अयतिय च जने भ्रमसुषुषु सधुषु मे ति
10 भ्रमयुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि
व इक्षति (C) किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सयं
परिकये व किति
11 सकले अणपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुषे (E) दुकरे चु खो
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सयं परितिजितु (F)
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे
9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiti va no⁹ mahathravaham mañati
anatra yam pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvay¹⁰ ayatiya cha jane
[dhra]ma-suśruṣa suśruṣatu¹¹ me ti
10 dhrama-[vutam cha]¹² anuvīdhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[c]hha[ti] (C) . . . [k]ichhi¹³ parak[ṛ]ima[ti] Devanapriye
Priyadraśi raja tam savram parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]iśav[e] siyati ti (D) eṣhe chu¹⁴ pa[r]iśave e apu[ṣe] (E) dukare¹⁵
chu kho eṣhe khudakena¹⁷ [va va]g[r]e[na] [n]-atena va ana[tra]¹⁸ a[gre]na
para[krame]na sav[ram] pari[ti]jitu (F) atra¹⁹ tu [kho] usateneva du[kar]e²⁰

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे भ्रमदने
भ्रमसंघवे भ्रमसंविभग भ्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति
मतापनुषु सुषुषु

¹ i[ha]A[a]lokr[cha] vase Buhler.² na Buhler.³ an[am]tam puñam Buhler⁴ [a] . ra Buhler.⁵ tato looks almost like tati⁶ ubhayasa [va la]dhe Buhler⁷ ana[m]ta[ñ] Buhler.⁸ Read dhrama-magalena The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāgarhi version⁹ n[a] Buhler.¹⁰ tadattaye Buhler, but see above, p. 62, n 2¹¹ The syllable *iru* is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.¹² Buhler omitted cha.¹³ [e tu] kichhi Buhler¹⁴ tu Buhler.¹⁵ [apu]ṣe[m] Buhler.¹⁶ dukaram Buhler¹⁷ khudakena Buhler.¹⁸ a[ñ]a[tra] Buhler.¹⁹ e . Buhler.²⁰ usatena va dukar[ra] Buhler

- 13 मिचसंस्तुतज्जतिकन अमससमसुन दने प्रथन अनरभे (D) एवे वतविने पितुन
पि पुचेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसंस्तुतेन अत्र पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं वटविने (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च वं अरभे होति परच च
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[ya] Priyadradī raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe
dhrama-dane dhrama-samtha[v]e dhrama-samvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[rh]ba[rh]dh[e]
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati² mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]ḥha
13 mitra-sam[stuta]-ḥatikana śramana-bramaṇaṇa dan[ca] prapaṇa [ana]rabhe³ (D)
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhraṭuna⁴ pi spamike[na] pi mitra-
sam[stu]t[ca]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye⁵ (E) se tatha karata[rh] hi[dalo]ke⁶ [cha] kaṃ⁷ aradhe
ho[ti] pa[ra]tra[cha] ana[rh]taṃ punaṃ p[ra]savati te[na] dhra[ma]-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C—South Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियदृशि रज सप्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहधनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सप्रपषडन ति (C) सलवुढि तु
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्तपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)
तदंजय करतं अत्तपषड च क्खति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केहि अत्तपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति समे अत्त-
पषडभतिय व किति अत्तपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 बढतरे उपहंति अत्तपषड (I) से समवये नो सधु किति अणमणस भनं खुयेसु
च सुखुयेसु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इक्क किति सप्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणम च हुवेसु ति (K) ए च तथ तथ प्रसन तेहि वतविने (L) देवनप्रिये नो
तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सप्रपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अणुये वपुट भ्रममहमच इस्सिजस्समहमच वचभुमिक अजे च
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अत्तपषडवढि च भोति भ्रमस च दिपन

¹ °bhage Bühler.² -[bha]ṭa . . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpaṭipati Bühler.³ anarabhe Bühler.⁴ bhatuna Bühler.⁵ krataviye Bühler.⁶ karantam hida . . . ka Bühler.⁷ [ka?] Bühler in foot-note 10.⁸ aradhe . . . Bühler

- 1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadrāṣī** rāja savra-pashadani [p]rava[ji]lani gehathani¹ cha
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
2 [De]vana[ri]priye māñati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashadana ti (C) sala-
vrudhi [u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañi mule añi vacha-guti
3 kiti ata-prashada-puja va para-pashada-garaha va no siya apakaranasi lahuka va
siya tasi tasi pakaranasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[ra]shada tena tena
4 akarena (F) evam karatam atva-pashada³ badham vadhayati para-pashadasa pi cha
upakaroti (G) tad-amñatha⁴ karatam ata-pashada⁵ cha chhanati para-pashadasa
pi cha
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashada pujeti para-pashada va garahati savre
atva-pashada-bhatriya va kiti atva-pashada dipayama ti . . . puna tatha
karatam
6 badhataram⁷ upahanti⁸ atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu ki[ti] anamañasa
dhramam śrun[ca]y[u] cha¹⁰ suśrushe[ya] cha ti (J) evam hi **Devanapriyasa**¹⁰
ichha kiti savra-pashada bahu-śruta cha
7 kayanagama cha [hu]vyeu¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tchi vataviye (L)
Devanapriye no tatha danam va puja[ñi] va manati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya
savra-pashada[na]
8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vaputa dhrama-mahamatra istriyakhsha-mahamatra¹²
vracha-bh[u]mika añi cha mikay[e]¹³ (N) iyañi cha etasa phale
9 yañi atva-pashada-valhi cha bh[o]ñi dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अटवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दिग्दमणे
प्रणयतस
2 मटे (C) ततो पच अपुन लघेषु कलिगेषु तिमे भ्रमवये
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि (D)
3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से वढं वेदनिममते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (E) इयं पि
चु ततो
4 येसु बिहित एष अयमुदिसुशुष मतपितुषु सुशुष गुरुसुशुष निषसंसु

¹ -prashadani pravajjani gehatham Buhler.² pujaya Buhler.³ Hecv, and in five other places of the same edict, Buhler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *iva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 864, n 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.⁴ *tadaññathani* Buhler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anuvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself, see above, p 77. n. 13⁵ *atma-* Buhler.⁶ *kechi* Buhler.⁷ *badhamtarani* Buhler⁸ *hanti* looks like *anti*, ⁹ *ho[na]ti* Buhler.¹⁰ *ra* Buhler.¹¹ *Devana[ri]priyasa* Buhler.¹² *haveyu* Buhler.¹³ Read *istriyakhsha-*¹⁴ *mikaya* Buhler

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्कमणि (H) येधं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए तनं मिचसं
- 6 (I) एष सवमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से जनपदे यच नस्ति इमे निकय अज्ज योनेषु व्रमणे च अमणे पि जनपदसि यच
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिंगेषु हते च अपवुडे च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L) पक मितवि
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति अनुनिभपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेथ कि (O) .. छ वनंप्रिय
- 9 (P) सुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये भ्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे देवनंप्रियस हिद च सत्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु तियोगे नम योनरज
- 10 अंते नम मक नम अलिकमुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपंडिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंकोजेषु नभकनभपतिषु भोजपित्तिकेषु अपप
- 11 (S) यच पि दत्त देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुत विधनं भ्रमनुशसि भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन होति सप्रच विजये
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अण्ये इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि तवियं मणेषु सय
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सब च क निरति होतु य भ्रमरति (AA) स हि इसलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasīne rajīne [Ka]liga [v]i[ita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prana-[ṣata-sa]

2 [ma]te (C) [tato] pacha¹ adhuna la[ḍhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye [dhra]manu[ṣa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] (D)

3 [marane va apavahre va janasa] se [badham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Dovanapriyasa] (F) [i]yam [pi] chu tato

4 [yr]u [vii]ka esha [a]grabhu[u]-suśrūsha mata-pi[ti]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrūsha mit[r]a-sa[n]tu

¹ *pachha* Bühler In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 5 [va]lh[e] va abh[iratanah] va vin[k]ramani¹ (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]² si[n]he avipahin[e³ e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam]. . . .
- 6 (I) [esha] savra-manuśanam⁴ guru-mate cha **Devanapriyasa** (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[kā]ya a[nā]tra **Yonashu** [biamane⁵ cha] śra[mane] pi [janapada]hi ya[t]i
- 7 na⁶ nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada **Kaligeshu** hate⁷ cha apavuthe cha ta[tu]⁸ śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va⁹ aja guru-ma[te va] **Devanapriya** (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
- 8 (M) . [pi cha] atavi **Devanapriyasa**¹⁰ vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[tu a]nu[ni]ha]paya[t]i¹¹ (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava **Devanapriyasa**¹² vuchati [te]sha¹³ [ki] (O) chha **vanapriy**]¹⁴ .
- 9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye **D[ev]anapriyasa**¹⁵ ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa¹⁶ hida cha sa[vi]eshu cha amteshu a shashnu pi y[o]ja[na-śa] [e]shu **tiyo** [go¹⁷ nama Yo]na-[raja]
- 10 **Ara**t[o] . [nama Ma]ka na[ma] **Alikasudare** nama mcha¹⁸ **Choda-Pamdiya** a **Tambapa**m[ni]ya¹⁹ (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]²⁰ **Y[o]na-Kam**²¹ o[eshu] **Nabhaka**-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu²² [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu **Adha**-[Pa]²³
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta **[Do]vanapriyasa** na²⁴ yamti te pi śrutu **Devanapriyasa**²⁵ dhrama-vuta²⁶ vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuvihryanti [a]nuvidhy[isamti]²⁷ cha (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ti]ke[na] ho[ti] savra[tra]²⁸ v[i]jaye
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ina]nati **De**va[napri]ye (X) e[ti]ye cha²⁹ [a]thray[e] iyam dhranma-dipi³⁰ li[khi]ta kitu putra piya[śu]tra me a[su] navat[m]³¹ v[i] [tavi]yam man[ishu] sayat
- 13 (Y) . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava³² cha [ka]³³ nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati³⁴ (**AA**) sa hi [i]loli[kā]³⁵ paraloki[kā]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवप्रियेन प्रिय जिन लिखपित
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेगमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति च्चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अचम मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किच्चि ति लिखित व संखय

¹ mane Buhler⁴ savra manu Buhler⁷ hate looks like ante¹⁰ Devanapriy Buhler.¹³ [teshasi] Buhler¹⁶ yak Buhler¹⁹ Visha-Vaj[re] Buhler²² no Buhler.²⁵ Buhler omitted this word²⁸ nava Buhler³¹ [yama- Buhler² savra Buhler⁵ yesha [brama] Buhler.⁸ [ata] Buhler.¹¹ paya ti Buhler.¹⁴ vanapriy[re] Buhler.¹⁷ [ut]ham cha Buhler²⁰ [Nabhu]ke [Na]bha Buhler²³ [Nabhu]ke [Na]bha Buhler²⁶ Buhler omitted cha.²⁹ savra Buhler.³² [idu]lo Buhler³ aviprahi[m] Buhler⁶ yesha [brama] Buhler.⁹ Buhler omitted va¹² Deva[nam] [pi] Buhler¹⁵ [De]vanapriy[re] Buhler¹⁸ [pau]niya Buhler.²¹ [Am]tha Buhler²⁴ [santi] Buhler²⁷ dhrama Buhler³⁰ Buhler omitted ka

13 (A) [i]yañ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] ¹ [jina likhapita]

14 [likhite likha]p[śa]mi che[va] ni . . . (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa
ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
atra ki[chi] [t]i likhi[t .] va [saṃkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सि पवतसि देवानंपिय ना लाजिना
लिखा ीवं आलभितु पजोह
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे समाज द (E) . . .
पि चु तिया समाजा साधुमता देव
3 पियदसिने लाजिने (E) मह पिय नि
पानसत आलभियसु सुपढाये
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिप्ति तिं आलभिय
तिंति पानानि पद्दा नो आलंभियसंति

- 1 (A) [si³ pava]tasi [D]e[^v]ā[na]mp[riy] [nā lājina l]i[khā]
. [r]yañ ālabhitu pajo[h]
2 (C) [no pi cha sam]h[je] [samā]ja . . . [d] (E) . . . [pi
chu] . . . [t]i[y]ā [sam]h[ja] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
3 [Piyadasine lā]l[īne] (E) [mah] Priy[a] [n]i
[p]āna [sa]ta [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyam dha]m[ma]-līpī likhitā tim [āla]bh[iy]
[t]imni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am]bhiyasa[m]i[i]⁴

SECOND ROCK-EDICT · DHAULI

- 1 (A) सबत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल अषा
. तियोके नाम योनलाजा
2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सबत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना
. सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanaṃpriyena Priyadrasina*], see ZDMG, 44. 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps *nikāsi*, which would correspond to *nīkyam* at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhāuli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepungala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugada rock, see the Jaugada edict I, A.

⁴ *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālābhi*° Bühler.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: MANSEHRA



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नचि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता च (C) मूल वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मग्गेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि पटिभोगावे नं
- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ti]asi [D]e[v]ānāmpiyasa Piyadasi[ne 1] [athā]
 [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [c] vā [p]i [ta]sa Añtiyo[ka]sa sāmamtā lājāne savat[a D]evā[nāhp]i[ye]na P[ī]yadasu[nā] [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]s[ā] cha (B) dhami
- 3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpī[ā] cha [lo]pāp[ī]ta [cha] (C) mū[ti] v[ā]t[ā] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[ti]tāni p[a]tibhogāye [na]m

THIRD ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनापयि (C) त विजितसि मे युता लजुके
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कमने हेवं इमाये धंमानुसयिसे (D) साधु मातापितसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च बभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपविद्यता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनपयिसि हेतुते च विजंज

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhīsita me iy[ā]m ānap[ay]i¹ . . (C) [ta v]i[ti]t[ā] m[c] yut[ā] la[ti]p[k]

- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānam nikhamaṇṇu athā amnaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne hevam māl[ay]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ākh[u] ma[ā]-p[ī]t[ī]su su[s]us[ā]m
- 3 nātisu cha hambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-vi[ā]t[ā] apa-bh[ā]m[ā]t[ā] sādhu (E) p[ā]lisa pi cha [nas]i y[ut]i[ā]ni a[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti [h]etut[e] ch[a] vī[ya]mja

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वडिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अनानि च दिवियानि

¹ ānapa . . s Buhlcr⁴ apavayati Senart and Buhlcr.

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहुहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे
अज वडिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसधिया
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनबाभनेसु संपटिपति
मातिपितुसुसुसा वुडसुसुसा (D) एस अने च बहुविधे
5 धंमचलने वडिते (E) वडयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति ' ' च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
6 पवदयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकापं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने
पि चु
7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वडी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठये
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वडी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इय लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikamtam amtalam bahuni vasa-satāni vadhite va panā[la]mbhe vihūsa cha
bhūtānāni natissu asampatipati samana-babbha[ne]ssu asampatipati
2 (B) se aja Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosam
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]sam vimana-dasanam hathini [a]ḍḍi-kamdhāni amāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
3 lūpan[i] dasayitu munisānam (C) aḍ[i]he b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]hi no hūta-pulive tadise
aja va[dhite Devānāmpiyasa Piy[sa]dasino lājine dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā
4 an[ā]lambhe pānānam avihisa bhūtānam nātissu sampatipati sama[na-ba]bbha[n]esu
sāmpatipati m[a]ḍḍi-pitu-susūsā vu[dha]-susūsā (D) esa amne cha ba[h]hividhe
5 dh[a]mma-chalane vadhite (E) vadhayi[s]a ti cheva Devānāmpiyasa Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā
dhamma-chalanam imam (F) putā pi chu ' nati [panati] ' . * [cha] Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino lājine
6 pavadhayisanti yeva dhamma-chalanam imam ā-k[a]ṇṇam dhammasi [v]ijasi ch[a
ch][th]itu dhammam a[nu]s[a]sam[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[the kam]me ya
dhammanūsāsanā (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu
7 no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa athasa v[a]khi ' ahini ch[a] ā[dhū] ' (J) et[āy]e [athāy]e
iyam likhite imasa athasa vadhi yujantū hini cha ma alochayisū
8 (K) duvādasasā vāsāni abhisittasa Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasino lājine yam ' [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT. DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्ले (C)
कयानस से दुक्लं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने फटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

¹ -bambhanessu Buhler.

² The Kāls version reads *panātikyā*

³ *yissu* Senart and Buhler.

⁴ *cha* Senart and Buhler

⁵ *vudhi* Buhler.

⁶ *sādhu* Senart and Buhler

⁷ Read perhaps *iyam*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अप्रतिये मे आवक्कपं तथा अनुवत्तिंसंति से सुकटं कळति
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिवंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) से
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धम्ममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिषानाये धंमवडिंये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस येनक्वोचगंधालेसु
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनायेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये
वियापटा से (L) वंधनवधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोपनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अनेसु वा नातिसु सवत्त वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिषाने ति
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धम्ममहामाता (O)
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवत्तु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyaṃsī lāḥā h[ēva]m ahā (B) kayāne dukale (C)
k[ā]y[ā]n[ā]s[ā] dukalam kal[ē]ṭu (D) se me bh[ā]h[ā]ke kayāne kat[ā] (E) tam y[ā]
me [p]a[ṭ]i[ā] va
- 2 n[ā]t[ī] va . . . m cha t[ē]na ye ap[ā]tiye me āva-kapam tatha anuvattisam[ā] s[ē]
sukatam kachh[ā]m[ā]ṭu (F) e heta d[ē]sa[m] pi hapayisat[ī] se dukatam kachh[ā]ti (G)
pa[ṭ]i[ā] hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[ē] at[ā]k[ā]m[ā]tam am[ā]lān[ā] no hūta-puluvā dhamma mahāmātā nama
(I) se *tedasa-va[sā]bhāsita*na me dhamma-mahamata nāma katā (J) te
sava-pāsānde[su]
- 4 v[ā]p[ā]ta dhammadhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]ḥhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamm[ā]
yuta-s[ā] *Yona-Kambocha-Gandhālesu Lathika-[P]itenikesu* e va pi am[ā]
āpalam[ā]tā⁴ (K) bhāt[ī]may[ā]su
- 5 bābha[n]bh[ā]y[ā]s[ā] anāthesu ma[hā]la[ke]su cha h[ā]t[ā]s[ā]sukhāye dhamma yutāye
a[ṭ]pa[ṭ]ibodhāye viy[ā]p[ā]t[ā] se¹ (L) bamdhana-[bā]kha-s[ā] p[ā]ṭ[ā]v[ā]h[ā]n[ā]ye
apalib[ā]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubandh[ā] p[ā]j[ā] ti v[ā] k[ā]ṭhikāl[ā] ti v[ā] mahāla[ke] ti v[ā] viyāp[ā]ta
se (M) hiḍi cha bahilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[ā]vesu olodhanes[ā] me [ē] vā pi
bhā[ṭ]i[nā]m⁴ me bhaginīnam va

¹ na[ṭ]i[ā] Buhler⁴ āpalam[ā]ta Buhler

² Here, and at the end of section I., Franke (VO), 9 349 f.) joins *vijāpatāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsah*. In the pillar-edict VII, V (twice) and CC, *vijāpatāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauḥi, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*

⁴ pa[ṭ]i[ā] Buhler.⁶ bhāt[ī]nam Buhler.

- 7 añnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]i[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyañ dhañm[a-n]isite ti va
dhañmādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyañ dha[m]ma-yutasi
viyāpaṭā ime dhañma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye
8 iyañ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitikā ho[lu] t[athā] cha me pa[jā] anu[va]tatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंघिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
... मानस मे
2 अति ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका
जनस अठ पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठ कालामि हवं
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभूती वा संतं
पलिसाया
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसचे (H) नधि
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सबलोकहिते
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नधि हि कंमत
सबलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हवं किति भूतानं आननियं
येहं ति
6 हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाभयंतू ति (M) एताये अठये
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पयोता मे
पलकमंतू
7 सबलोकहिताये (N) दुक्कले च इयं अंनत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye P[ī]yada[si] lājā [hē]vañ [ā]hā (B) atika[m]ta[m] a[m]ta[m] no
[h]i[tā]-puluve s[a]vañ kālam atha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamaya
kate (D) sa[va]m [kālam] ... [māna]sa¹ me
2 amte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]ḍ[ā]si v[ā]cha[s]i [v]nitasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa[va]ta
paṭivedakā janasa aṭham [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[ā] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]na[s]
athañ kalāmi h[ā]ka[hi]
3 (F) am pi cha ki[m]hi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpaka[m] v[ā] sa[v]a[k]am vā e va
maham[ā]tehi[ti] atiyāyike aloṇite hoti tasi athasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhat[ti] va samtam
palisāya²
4 āna[r]iṇṭaliyam paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[ā] me ti savata savañ kālam (G) heva[m] m[ā]
anusaṭhe (H) nath[i] hi m[ā]e [tos]e u[ṭhā]na[si] aṭha-saṃtīlanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

¹ [mi]nasa Bühler.² palisāya Bühler.

DHAULI ROCK; MIDDLE COLUMN



- 5 (J) *tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle* [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṃtī[a]n[ā] cha (K) *nathī hi kaṇimata . .* [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakam kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]ṭ[da] cha [k]ān[ā] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[ar]h ājādhayamtu ti (M) *et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yam dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]ṭṭa-ph[i]ṭṭikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]ṭṭū*¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) *dukale chu iyaṃ amna[a] a[ḡ]en[a pa]lakamena*

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) *देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति* (B) *सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति* (C) *मुनिसा च*
- 2 *उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा* (D) *ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कच्छति* (E) *विपुले पि चा दाने अस्स नपि सयने भावसुधी च नीचे वाढं*
- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]daśī lājā savata ichchatī sāva-p[ā]saṃ[ḍā] va]sevū ti (B) *save h[i] t[e sa]yamam [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhamti* (C) *mun[i]sā ch[a]*
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha lāgā (D) *te savam va ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ū* (E) *vipul[e] pi cha⁴ dāne asa n[athi sa]yamc [bh]āva-sudhī cha niche baḍham*

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) *अतिक्तं अंतलं लाजाने बिहालयातं नाम निखमिस्सु* (B) *त मिगविषा अंनानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं* (C) *से देवानंपिये*
- 2 *पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि* (D) *तेनता धंमयाता* (E) *ततेस्स होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च बुढानं दसने च*
- 3 *हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस्स जनस्स दसने च धंमानुसयी च पुच्छा च तदोपया* (F) *एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस्स पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने*
- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ā]m lāj[ā]n[ā] v[i]h[ā]la yatam nāma [n]i[kkha]m[i]v[i] (B) *. . [ta miga]v[i]y[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] d[isāni a[bh]i[i]jāmani huvaṃti nam* (C) *se Devānaṃpiye*
- 2 P[i]y[a]daśī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikkhami Saṃbodh[i]³ (D) [t]e[na]t[ā] dha[mma-yatā] (E) [tat]esa [ho]u samana-bābhananam d[a]s[ā]n[ā]n[ā] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]ddhanam dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °mainu Buhler² cha Buhler, the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has /hā.³ sambodhī Buhler.

- 3 h[ɪ]lāhna-p[a]ṭividhā[ne]¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i
[cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) c[sā] bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti
Devānaṃpiyaṣa Piyada[s]iṇe lāṇe bhāḡe [aṃ]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
कलेति आवाध वीवाह जुपदाये पवाससि
2 एताये अनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क (C) चु इषी बहुकं
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3 (D) से कटविषे चैव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग (F) यं
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति
4 गुलूनं अय मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने च
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविषे पितिना पि पुतेन पि भतिना पि
5 सुवामिकेन पि ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि अनुगहे वा
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे मि तिक्केन सहायेन
पि वियोवदित ि तसि पकलनसि इयं
7 लाधयितवे (L) टव स्वगस
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [aṭhi ja]ne uchāvucham maṃgalaṃ
ka[le]ti [ab]adha¹ [v]i[vāha] [ju]padāye⁴ pavās[a]si
2 etāye amnaye ch[a] hedisaye i[a]n[e] bahukam maṃgalaṃ k[a] (C) . .
[chiu]⁵ iṭhi l[ā]hukaṃm cha [lā]hu[v]iḍh[am] ch[a] kh[ud]am⁶ cha nilaṭṭhiyam cha
maṃgalaṃ kaleti
3 (D) se kaṭ[ā]viye che[vā kh]o m[a]ṃgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[et]h[ic]
maṃga[ā] (F) [ya]ṃ [chi]u⁷ kho mah[a]p[h]a[le] c [dha]mma-maṃgale (G)
[ta]ṭṭ[sa d]i[sā-bhaṭṭaka]s[ā] sammya-jajjapatt[i]
4 [gulu]ṇam a[pa] [me] samana-babhan[ā]ṇam dāne esa amue ch[a]
 [dhamma]-maṃga[le] nāma (H) [se]⁸ vata[viye j]iṭṭhā pi putt[ā]na
pi bhātinaṃ pi
5 suvāmike[na p]i [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭṭas[a] niphattiyā (I) [a]ṭhi [cha]
hevaṃm v[ut]te dāne v[ā]k[h]u ti (J) [s]e [na]ṭhi [anu]gāh]e v[ā]
6 [āḍ]i[sē dha]mma-dāne dham[manu]gahe¹⁰ (K) [n]i [t]i[k]ena
sahaye[na p]i v[io]vadita¹¹ [tasi] pak[ā]lana[si] iyaṃ
7 [l]ādhayitave (L) ta[v] [svagasa] al[adhi]

¹ h[ilā]hna- Senart and Bühler, -patt¹ looks like -patt¹, and may be meant for -patt¹.

² esa bhūye Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. esa see above, p. 15, n. 7

³ ābāḍhe Senart and Bühler.

⁴ [j]opadāye Bühler.

⁵ [eta] ti Bühler

⁶ khudā[kam] Bühler. ⁷ [cha] Bühler. ⁸ tā Senart, [ta] Bühler. ⁹ pa Senart, [p]i Bühler

¹⁰ dhammānuṃ Senart and Bühler

¹¹ Restore v[io]vaditave.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न हं मंनते
..... ि यसो वा किटी वा इहति तदवाये आ जने
2 सुसं सुसुसह मे धंम मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी
वा इ ि पलक्कमति देवानंपिये पालत्तिकाये ..
3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस (E) दुक्कले
..... त अग्गेन न सर्वं च पलित्तिजित्तु
4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुक्कलतले

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[a]s[ī] lājā yaso v[ā] [k]itī vā n... . [ha]m
maṇṇ[ate] [yaso] va k[it]i [v]ā icchati tadatvaye [ā] ..
[ja]ne
2 [sūsa]m [susu]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso va
kūti v]a [pā]lakama[ti] Devānaṃpiye pāl[at]ikā[y]e .
3 kintī saka[le] apa-pal[is]ave [hu]v[ey]a t[ī] (D) pa[l]i[sa] (E) [du]kka[le]
. t[ā] aḡgena[] [na sa]vam cha palit[ti]j[itu]
4 khudakena v[ā] usatena vā (F) u[satena] chu [dukkalatake]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा
अथि मग्गिमेन हि सवे सवत्त घटिते
2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस (D) अथि
..... वुत्ते तस याये
3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स सं
.. लोचयित्तु कला ति

- 1 (A) iyam dhamma-liipi De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhita
athi ma[ghimena] [h]i sava sav[a]ta ghatite
2 (C) mahante hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis¹ (D) [a]thi
. [vu]t[te] ta[sā] [y]ay[ā]
3 [k]intī cha [ja]ne tathā patipajeyā ti² (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhit[ā] s³
sam . [lochay]itu k[a]lā [t]

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

¹ Restore *likhiyisāmi*.² Or *patipajeyāti* may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14³ sam Senart and Buhler

TRANSLATION

The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किंकि दस्सामि हकं तं इह्मामि किंति कमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलमेहं (C) एस च मे मोखमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसधि (D) तुफे हि बहुसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गळेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इह्मामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन
हिदलोकिक्क-
- 6 पाललोकिक्केन यूजेवू ति तथा मुनिसेसु पि इह्मामि हकं (G) नो च
पापुनाष आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केह व एकपुल्लिसे नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)
देसत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुल्लिसे पि अचि ये बंधनं वा पल्लिकिलेसं वा
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्सा तेन वधनंतिक्क अने च हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत
इह्मितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 निदूल्लियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इह्मितविये
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगह संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दसेय तुफाक्क
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनंने देसत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसधि (B) से महाफले ए तस
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (B) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नधि स्वगस आलपि नो
लाजालपि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauhi rock. Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

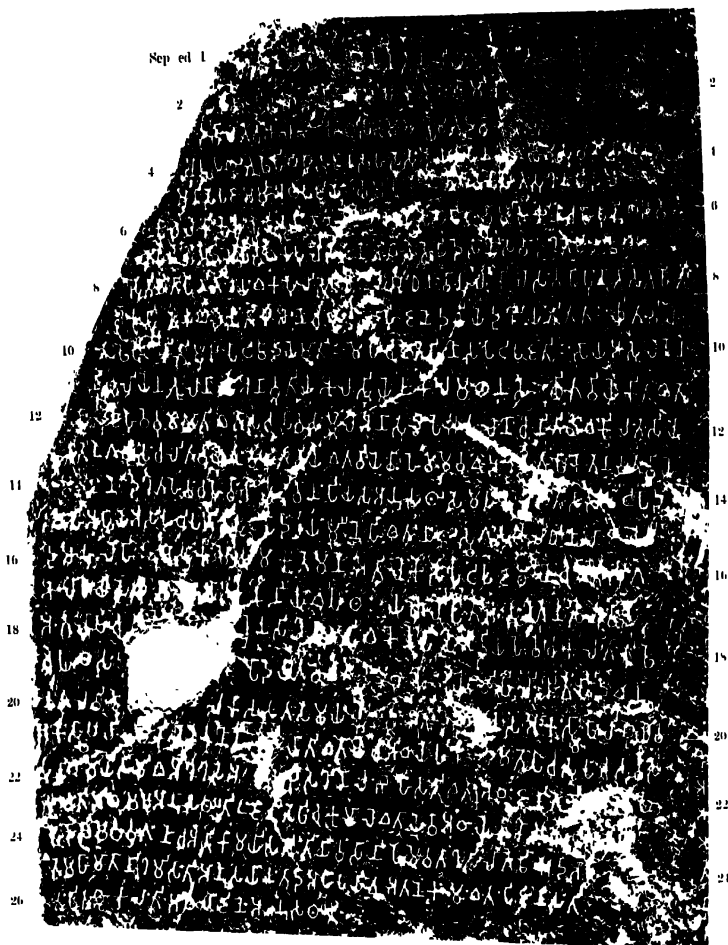
- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कमस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलापयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनसतेन सोतविषा
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविष (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चषथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अढाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलविषोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति नस अक्स्मा पलिवोषे व
- 21 अक्स्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अढाये हकं मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसांमि ए अक्खसे अचंढे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अढाये
निखामयिस
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तस्सिल्लाते
पि (CC) अदा अ
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कमं एतं पि
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]h[pt]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyāh m[ā]h[ā]māta [naga]la
[v]h[yo]hālikā
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mū hakam tam ichhāmi k[ī]m[t] kam[mana
pa]t[ī]padayjeham¹
- 3 duvalate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata dūvā[la etas] atha[si am
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasum² ā[yata]³ p[ā]na[yam ga]chh[c]ma
su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena
hidako[kika]
- 6 pālalokike[na]⁴ y[ū]jev[ū] [t]h[ā] . . . muni[esu]⁵ pi [i]chhāmi [h]a[ka]m (G) no
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e⁶ [iyam athe] (H) [k]k[chha] v[a] eka-pul[ise]. natī⁷ e[ta]m se pi
desam no savam (I) de[kha]h[a hi t]u[phc] etam
- 8 suv[hi]tā pi (J) [n]uyam⁸ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bamdhanam vā p[ā]likilesam vā
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ *pativeda*° Senart and Buhler.² *āyatā* Senart and Buhler³ Restore *sava-munisesa*.⁴ Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugada⁵ **sesu* Senart and Buhler.⁶ **lokikāye* Senart and Buhler⁷ *āvā-gamake* Senart and Buhler⁸ *niti iyam* Senart and Buhler

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]¹ ahne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhiyati (L)
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiṃtū m[a]jhaṃ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jātch]i no saṃpaṭipajati
iśāya āsūlopena
- 11 m[ithū]liyena * tulanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lāmathena (N) se ichhitaviye
kitūm * ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][ā]nā cha
(P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha] * saṃchalitaviy[c] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevānimeva e
da[kheya] * t[u]phak[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānamne * dekhata hevam cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānampiyaṃ anusathi (R) se
mah[i-pha]le [e] t[ā]sa [sampa]jipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]pa[ti]pādayamīne hi * etam nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi
no lā[ā]lā[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi t[ma]sa kamm[asa] m[c] kute man[o]atuleke * (U) sa[m]paṭi
pajam[t]i[n]e chu [eta]m svaga[m]
- 17 ālādhā[vi]sa[tha] mama cha * ānaniyam chatha (V) iyam cha l[i]p[i]¹⁰ t[i]sa-
na[kha]tena so[t]aviy[ā]¹¹
- 18 (W) amta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[n]e[na]¹² kha[n]a[n]a kha[n]as[i] ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevam
cha kalamtam tuphe
- 19 chaghatha sampa[t]ipād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e][ā]ye aṭhāye¹³ iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhi[t]a
h[i]da ena
- 20 nagala-vi[ī]y[o]ha]lakā sas[v]atam samayam yūjevū¹⁴ t[i] [na]sa¹⁵ akasmā
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]mā paliki[l]i[n]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate¹⁶
p[a]mchasa pamchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]nāmi e akkhase a[cha]m[d]e s[a]khināmbhe hosati etam
atham janitu [ta]tha
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathi ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye
[ni]khama[yi]sa
- 24 hedisaṃveva¹⁷ vagam no cha atikāmayisati tiṃni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte
pi (CC) [a]dā
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisamti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kāmham etam pi
jānisamti
- 26 tam pi ta[th]i kalamti a[tha] lāyine anusathi ti

¹ *baindha*° Senart and Bühler² *nithūli*° Senart and Bühler.³ Read *kiṃtū*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.⁴ Read *ugachhe*.⁶ *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.⁸ *aninai* ne Senart and Bühler⁷ Luders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read **uinehi*.⁹ *mama*- Senart, *mane*- Bühler.¹⁰ *t* for *mama cha* Senart, [ta] . . . Bühler.¹¹ *lipi* Bühler.¹¹ **viyāni* Senart, **viya* Bühler¹² [n]i Bühler¹³ *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler¹⁴ *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.¹⁵ Restore *cha janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.¹⁶ Read *mahāmātā*; *dhammate* Senart and Bühler.¹⁷ *hedisaṃveva* Senart and Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāhpriya*, the *Mahāmātrav* at *Tosali*,¹ (who are) the judicial officers of the city,² have to be told (thus)

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.³

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,⁴ with the object of gaining the affection of men.⁵

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn⁷ how far this (my) object reaches⁸

(H) Some single person⁹ only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,¹⁰ (but) not the whole

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for¹¹

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali, see F.I. 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB. 7. 449) identified Tōsali with the *Tosalei* *μνηρόπολις* of Ptolemy, but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 2 (sec. ed.) 252, n. 2, Burnouf, *Index*, p. 673, Keim, JRAS, 1886. 384 f., IA, 13. 382.

² With *nagala-vijohāḥaka* cf. *paurāṇa-vijohāḥaka* in the *Kantilaya*, p. 20, l. 13, see SPAW 1914. 855.

³ The correct translation of this section is due to Senart, see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Banāt rock inscription, B.

⁴ Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C, VII, M, N), the participle *anata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vijāpita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took *śubhavisāhanam* to be one word 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Luders is no doubt right in explaining: *sa* = Skt. *svat*, see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *sa* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

⁶ Cf. Asvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*, II, 35. *स्वात्मः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवनाशकश्च* 'as for his own children, even so (king Buddhodana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects'.

⁷ Buhler rendered *pāpūnātha* by 'understand', and Luders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer', see my note on the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

⁸ Buhler translated *atthagamukhe* *iyam atthe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Luders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to' (Cf. *atthe* *pi cha me āvatsi* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15).

⁹ This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide in individual case. Senart compared *eka-puṣe* (= *eka-muniv* at Jaugada) with the Buddhist term *prithagjana* (see Childers, s. *prithagjana*), and Buhler rendered it by 'a private person', see ZDMG, 41. 17. The expression *eka-puṣe* or *eka-muniv*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugada), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugada). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V, see also the second separate edict, N and O.

¹⁰ Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

¹¹ See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions.⁵ envy, anger,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise, but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king),⁹ such and such is the instruction of **Dēvānāmpriya**.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

¹ As recognized by Luders (SPAW, 1914 859), *niti* is here = *danda-niti*. I connect the locative *nityām* with *asti*; at Jaugada it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated *palikūsa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Luders (SPAW, 1914, 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kautliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *parikūṣayatah*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayatah* in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of *ba[m*]dhanantika* and *daviye* is due to Luders, see SPAW, 1914 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41 16), one would expect *tana* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātām* is justified by etymology, see IA, 19 89.

⁶ For *āśulpa*, 'angry' (literally 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvānti* (Dhauī) or *āvanti* (Jaugada) = Skt. *āvṛtti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar edict IV, I., *avanti* corresponds to Skt. *ayukti*, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *amānane*, which they divided into *aminam ne* = Skt. *ānāmanah* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + nah* (Luders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauī and at Jaugada, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As *vipatipādāyamane* corresponds to *vipatipātayamātam* at Jaugada, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *sampatipāyamane* in section U, below, to *anuvakkhamāne* in the Delhi-Iopra pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijnamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Luders, SPAW, 1913 1011 ff.

¹² For *āladhi* (= **ārādhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhak* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadha dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.¹

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.²

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,³ you will be able⁴ to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men]

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years⁷ [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh⁸ nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz.) in order to ascertain whether (the judicial officers),⁹ paying attention to this object, . . . are acting thus, as my instruction (implies)

(AA) But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description,¹⁰ and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies)

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किद्धि द्दसामि ह्वं तं इ
- 2 दुवालते च ज्जालभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं तुप्फु मम

¹ Cf the Dhauri separate edict II, L.

² i.e. three times per year, see the Dhauri separate edict II, N

³ The forms *kalamtam* (here and in II, L and P), **patayamtam* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *samtam* (II, C), and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsamtam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and **pajamtam* (Delhi-Toprā pillar edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute Cf above, p. 35, n. 9

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9 340 ff) has shown that *chaghat* is the future of *chuk*, a variant of the root *śak* Cf *chakiye* in the Dhauri separate edict II, I 5, in the Sahasrām rock inscription, I 1, and in the Banāt rock-inscription, I 5, also *chakiye*, ibid., I 6

⁵ In the translation of *savataṁ samayāṁ* I follow Kun (JRAS, 1880 391) and Luder. (SPAW, 1914 864)

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8

⁷ Cf the rock-edict III, C

⁸ Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408

akakkasam viññāpanū girān saccham udāyē

yāya nābhivajjē kañchi tam ahañ brūmi brāhmaṇam

⁹ The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them, see SPAW, 1914. 865 f

¹⁰ See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (D) अथ पञ्चाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिपाललोकिवाये
युजेवू ति हेवं
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) मव इह
मम अतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय अनुविगिन ममाये
5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . ँनेवू इति खमिसति
ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमितं व च
धमं चलेवू
6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलापयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे
अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा
च ममा
7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ि च तानि एन
पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं
देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
8 अथा च पञ्चा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक
देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये
हितसुखाये च तेस
9 हिदलोकिपाललोकिवाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलापयिसथ मम
च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन
महामाता स्वसांतं सम
10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-
चातुंमासं तितेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला
पि तितेन एकेन पि
11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चषथ संपटिपादयितवे

1 (A) Devānaṃpiya[s] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B)
am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam taṃ i]

2 duvālate cha ālabhcham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi athaṣi am
tuphe[s]ju mama

3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-
pālalokikayc¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[am]

4 (F) siyā amtanam aviṇṇanam ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu]. (G) . . m[a]va²
ichha mama amtesu . . . i³ [u]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy]
[anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye

5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhameva lahevu mamat[c] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, ²

¹ mave Buhler; read perhaps *hevamva*.

³ Reston. *kimti*.

- . . un[c]vū¹ iti khamisatī² ne **Devānāmpriye** [aph]ākā³ ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]⁴ cha dhammaṃ chalevū
- 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha āladhayevū (**H**) etasi aḥhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu cchamdaṃ cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t] paṭimā⁵ cha mama
- 7 [a]jalā (**I**) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu kamme chal[i]d[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . i⁶ [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānāmpiy[e]** aphāka athā cha atānam⁷ hevaṃ **Devānāmpriye** [a]nukampati aph⁸
- 8 athā cha pajā⁹ hevaṃ may[e] **D[e]vānāmpiyasa** (**J**) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]ṃda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hoṣāmi etāye athāye¹⁰ (**K**) paṭibālā hi tupa[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
- 9 hidalokika-pālalo[k]kaye (**L**) hevaṃ cha kalamtaṃ tuphe svagam āladha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyam eṭhata (**M**) etāye cha aḥhāye iyaṃ lopi likhitā hida c[na] ma]hamatā svasata[m sa]ma¹¹
- 10 yujisamti as[vā]s[a]hāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānam (**N**) iyaṃ cha lopi [anu]chātummāsaṃ tiseṇa nakhatena sotaviyā (**O**) kāmam chu¹² [kha]nas[i]¹³ khaṇasi amālaṃ pi tiseṇa ekena [p]
- 11 [so]laviya (**P**) hevaṃ kala[m]am [t]uphe chaghatha sampapṭapadayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Devānāmpriya**, the prince (governor) and the *Makāmātī* as at **Tōsalī** have to be told (thus)

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by (various) means

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you

(D) my . . .

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus

(F) It might occur¹⁴ to (my) unconquered borderers¹⁵ (to ask) 'What does the king desire¹⁶ with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that **Devānāmpriya** that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore *pāpunevū*

² The syllable *sa* is entered above the line

³ *aphāka* Senart and Buhler

⁴ Senart and Buhler omit *va*

⁵ Restore *asvāsanyāmi*

⁶ The syllable *nam* is entered above the line

⁷ *peja* Buhler

⁸ *athāye* Senart and Buhler.

⁹ Read *sasvatam samayam*.

¹⁰ *cha* Senart and Buhler.

¹¹ The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.

¹² Luders showed that *syā* is not the last word of section I., as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *kuthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar edict VII, I and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff

¹³ Cf. the Kāśī rock-edict II, A, V, J, XIII, Q

¹⁴ Kām (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt *svat* Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauī separate edict I, D, and *kinasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar edict VII, F, G, II.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,¹ not misery, that they may [learn] this, that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them² what can be forgiven,³ that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(E) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,⁶ in order that they may learn that *Dēvānāmpriya* is to them like a father, that *Dēvānāmpriya* loves them like himself, and that they are to *Dēvānāmpriya* like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces⁷ for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Buhler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kein recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880, 380, 382, 383, SPAW, 1914, 868, Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

² As Buhler (ASSI, I, 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbhargahi rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakṛiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ *ajala* corresponds to *achula* at Jaugada, as *loga* (Jaugada separate edict II, ll 7 and 13) to *loka*, *lōi* (Dāhli-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lōpi*, *huda* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *ose*.

⁶ The neuter *tānt* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.

⁷ Kein (JRAS, 1880, 384) translated 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāntika* (Dhauhi) or *[vaka]la-de-sā-āy[ur]ika* (Jaugada) see Buhler (ZDMG, 41, 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyukta*, 'an official'. Cf. *āyuti* = Skt. *āyukta*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Asoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Tak-haśilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauhi separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. *chātumāsī* in the Delhi Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauhi separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.

DHAULI ROCK; RIGHT' COLUMN



VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किच्छि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रक्षति देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियसु सूपढाये
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता तिनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि
पानानि
5 पक्षा नो आलभियसंति
- 1 (A) *iyam dhamma-lipi Khepi[ṁ]galasi¹ pavatasi Devānaṃpiyona Piyadasinā*
lājinaṃ likhāpitā (B) *hida no kicchi jāvaṃ ālabhi[ti]ṇi pajohitaviye*
2 (C) *no pi cha samāje kataviye* (D) *bahukam hi dosam samājasa² drakhati³*
Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā (E) *athi pi chu ekatīyā samājā sadhu-mata*
Devānaṃpiyasa
3 *Piyadrasine⁴ lājine* (F) *puluvam mahā[nasa]ṇi Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine*
lājine anudivasam bahūṇi pāna sata-sah[a]ṇi ālabhiyisu sūpa[ṭh]āye
4 (G) *se aja adā iyam dhamma-lipi likhitā timni yeva pānani āla[m]bhīyamti* *duve*
majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvam (H) *etāni pi chu timni pānāni*
5 *pachhā no āla[bh]īyisanti*

TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpīṅgala¹**
mountain by king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin
(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed
(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
(D) For **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by
king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin.

¹ *Khapiṅgalasi* Buhler, but the *i* of *Khe* is perfectly distinct

² *samājasa* Buhler

³ A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *ṣ*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*, *dakhati* Senart and Buhler

⁴ *Piyadasine* Senart and Buhler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *ṣ*

⁵ *ālabhiyamti* Senart and Buhler.

⁶ The etymological meaning of this name is ' (which appears) brown in the air, ' see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 92

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT. JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंप्रियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते¹ अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंप्रियेन
पियदसिना लाजि चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत
नथि सवत च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि
लुखानि च

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi antā atha Choḍā
Paṇḍiā Satiyapu[t]e I Antiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [c] vā pi tasa Antiyokasa sāmanta lājāne savata Devānāmpriyena
Piyadasinā lāji [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi
sava[ta] cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra¹ halāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D)² magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni
cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputa*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.¹

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Buhler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauri. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसक्साभिसितेन मे इवं
आ च पादसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कम्मने
सा मितसंपुत्तेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु
यि
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādaasa-vasābhisitona me
iyam [ā]... cha pād[ic]hike cha
- 2 pañchasaṃ pañchasaṃ vasesu anusayānam nikhamaṃvū atha amnāye pi kamma[n]·
..... [s]ā mita-samthute[s]...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] bambhana-samanchi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālabhe sādhu . .
[y]i.....
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajukas*, and the *Prāḍēṣika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramanas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahamātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिक्रंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससत्तानि वदिते व पानालंभे
2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल
3 दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते
4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भूतानं नातिसु संप
5 (D) एस अने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वदिते (E) वदयि
6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवदयिसंति येव धंमचल
7 (E) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति
8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि

- 1 (A) a[t]kaṁtaṁ amtalam bahūni vasa-satāni vadhite va pānālabhe
 2 (B) se aja **Devānāmpiyasa Priyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[]
 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu¹ munisānaṁ (C) ādisa bahūni vasa-sate
 4 dhammānusathiyā anālambhe pānānaṁ avihiṣā bhūtānaṁ nātisu [saṁpa]
 5 (D) esa amne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vadhite (E) va[dhay]i
 6 **Priyadasine lājine** pavadhaya[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
 8 [hi]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

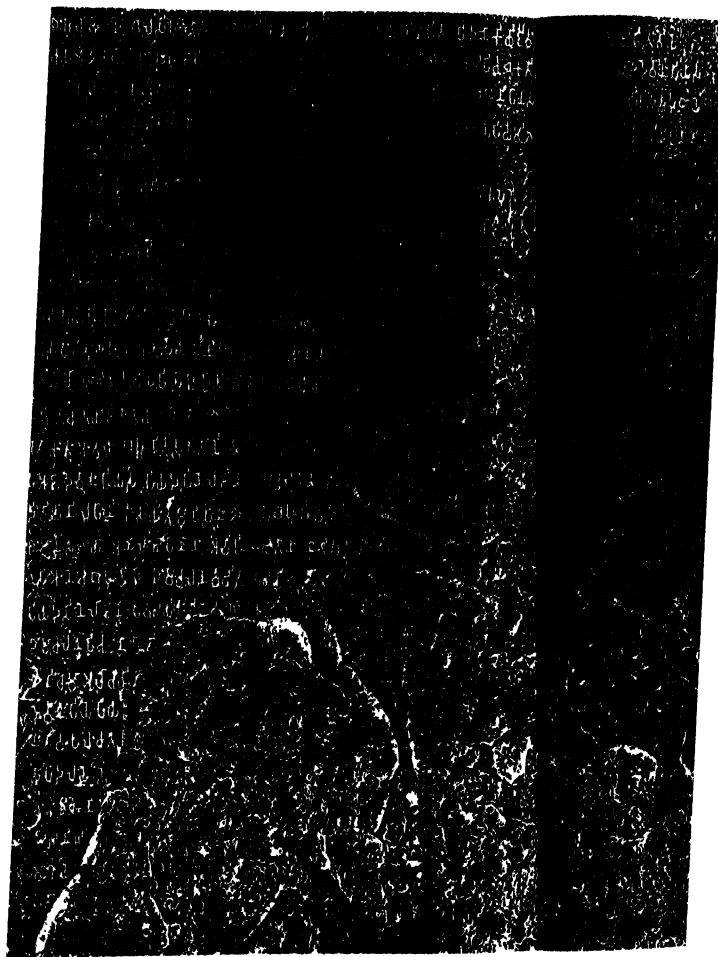
(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve² the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *disayistu* Senart, *dasayistu* Buhler.

² See above, p. 31, n. 7.

JAUGADA ROCK; FIRST COLUMN



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT· JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद
 2 नती व पलं च ते
 3 सुपदालये (H) से झ
 4 धंमाधिबाना
 5 .. भनिभि
 6 मोहाये
 7 ए वा
 8

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da]
 2 nat[i]¹ va palam cha te
 3 " s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh][th]āna²
 5 .. bhanibhi
 6 mokhāye
 7 e [v]ā
 8

TRANSLATION (DHĀULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast.¹
 (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
 (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, among the Lathikas and Pitṭhikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas,

¹ *namti* Senart, *nati* Buhler.² *thānā* Buhler.³ See above, p. 33, n. 3

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) नंयिसे पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतां अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
2 स मे अति ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
3 कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि
विवादे व
4 लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)
हेव मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
5 (I) मे सबलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सबलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि
पलकमामि हकं
6 नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु
ति (M) एताये अठये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलिठितीका होतु
7 ता मे पलकमंतु सबलोकहिताये (N) दुक्खे चु इयं अनंत अगेन
पलकमेन

1 (A) ... [na]m̐piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ amtalam no hūta-puluve savam kālam aṭṭha-kamm[c] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) savam kālam

2 ... [sa m]e aṃte olodhanasi gabbhāgālasī vachasi vinitas[i] uyānasi cha savata pativedakā janasa aṭṭham prativēdayamtu³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 13, n. 7.

² See above, p. 13, n. 8.

³ The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi* Senart and Bühler

- 3 [ka]m (F) am pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam vā sāvakam
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t̪i]ya]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi athasi vivāde va
- 4 liśāy[am] ā]nam[ta]liyam paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam
kālam (G) hevam me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uthanasī atha-
samtilān[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) me sava loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam mūle uthāne cha aṭha-
samtilānā cha (K) nathi hi k[am]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am cha kichhi
p[a]lakamami hakam
- 6 [n]iyam yecham ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam
alādhayamtū ti (M) etāye athāye i[ya]m dhamma lipi likhitā chila-ṭhūka
hotu *
- 7 [t̪i] me [pa]lakamamtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m amnata
agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHIAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement)

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within¹ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (*viz.*) exertion and the dispatch of business

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (*viz.* that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal

¹ "sāya Senart and Bühler.

* *hotu* Bühler

² On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *ta*

³ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT. JAUGADA

- 1 (A) दसी लाजा सवत इहति सबपासंडा वसे ' ' ति (B) सवे हि
ते समयं भावसुधी च इहति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचहंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) सं व कइति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने धी
च नीचे बाहं

- 1 (A) da[si]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]samdā va[s]e .. [t]i (B) [sav]r
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pu]le [p]i chā³ [d]ā[ne]
[dhī] cha niche [b]ādham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 विया ज्ञानानि च एदि मानि हुवन्ति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय दस ता (E) ततेस होति स
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलनपटिविधाने च धंमपलिपुद्दा िलाने
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे च ...

- 1 ' [v]i[y]ā [a]mnāni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvaṃti nam (C) se
Dēvānāmpriya
2 [Piya] [dasa]⁴ [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] cha
dāne⁵ cha vudhanam dasane cha
3 hilaṇṇa-paṭiv[ī]dh[ā]ne [cha] [dha]ṇṇa-p[al]i[pucch]ā⁷
ilame hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] . .

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasi*.

² The same plate reads [va] *cha-dasaṇ* ³ *cha* Senart and Buhler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][ti]kamtaṇ aṇṭalam lāya

⁵ The same plate reads *Piyadasi* [Pi]yā *dasa*.

⁶ *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

⁷ -pālī Senart and Buhler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed) ¹

(C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz) visiting Śramanas and Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion)

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree

NINTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये
ज्जनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुक् च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म (F) इयं चु सभटकसि
संन्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे
- 4 समनवाभनानं दाने एस ज्जने पित्तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु
खो मितेन
- 6 यं साधू इमेन सक्किये स्वगे आलापयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन
कटवियतला
- 7

- 1 (A) *Devān[am]piye Piyadasi lā[jā]* [pa]jupadaye pavāsasi etāye
attnaye cha
- 2 *hedisāye jane [bā]hu[kam]* [cha ma]m[ga]m k[a]leti (D) se kataviye
cheva kho mangale
- 3 (E) *apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma* (F) *i[ya]m [chu]* ² . . .
[sa-bha]jakasi sammyā-patupati gulūnam apachiti panesu say[a]me
- 4 *saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam d]a[n]e* [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi
bhātina pi suvāmike[n]a pi iyam sadhu iyam kataviye

¹ With *huvāsita nam* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārī and Nāik inscriptions (I, 1, 7 64, text l 4 8, 65, text l 14; 71, text l 4; 73, text l 11). In the Jaina Prakrit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Sauraseni, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nam*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nānam*.

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort *Dēvanāmpriya* is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger

(E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [real] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

1 (A) मभिमेन अपि विषटेन (B) नो हि सवे सबत घटिते (C)
महंते हि विजये

2 स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत

3

1 (A) [ma]bhime[na] ath[i] vithatena (B) [no] hi save savata ghatite
(C) mahamte hi vijaye

2 [sa] mādhuliyaye kiṁti[ti] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta

3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* or of middle (size), or at full length

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंप्रिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं
वतविद्या (C) अं किञ्चि दक्षामि हकं तं इक्षामि किंति कं कम्मन पटिपातयेहं

2 दुबालते च आलमेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुबालं अं तुफेसु अनुसपि (E)
फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गडेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सबमुना मे

- 3 पञ्जा (G) अथ पञ्जाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोकि-
पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सबसुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाय
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अडे (I) केवा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सबं (J) दसथ हि तुफे पि
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अडि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इक्षितये
किंति भम्ह पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमचेन (O) हेवं इक्षितविये किंति मे एतानि
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सबस चु इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अतुलना च
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय
- 7 संचलितु उपाया संचलितथे तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे
दसेया आनने णिक्पेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विषटिपातयंतं नो
स्वगआलपि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुते मनो-
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलापयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y)
मीने चघथ
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अढाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ ने पलिकि
. ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं
त पि कुमाले वि . . त मयि
लाते
- 12 वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा

1 (A) Dev[ā]nāpiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmatā [na]gala-
viyohāla ka he[vam va]tav[ī]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [tam] ichhām[ī]
k[um]h[ī] karh¹ kamana² pa[ti]pāyeham

¹ Senart and Bühler omit *karh*. Cf. the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above,
p. 35, n. 12.

² [*kahi*]mana Bühler.

- 2 duvālate cha ālabhchaṃ (D) eṣ[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam a[m] tūphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasu [ā]ya[ta] p[ā]na[ya]m gachhema [su] m[u]n[ī]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me¹
- 3 pajā (G) atha pa[ā]ye ichhāmi kim[ī]ti me savena hita-sukhena y[u]ṣṣu ti hi[ā]l[ā]ṣ[ī]k[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[ē]su (H) no chu tu[phe] e[ta]m [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e²
- 4 [i]yaṃ ath[e] (I) kechā cka-[muni]-[e] pa[p]unati³ se pi desam no savan (J) dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi⁴ suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka athi⁵ ye eti eka-munis- ba[m]dhanam paḥ[kile]sam [p]i⁶ pāpunati (L) tata [ho]t[ī] aka-
- 5 sm[ā] ti⁷ ten[a] badhana[m]tu[ka]¹⁰ anye¹¹ cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi] ichhiṭaye kimu majham [va]tipatayem[a] (N) imelu jāti[hi]¹² no [pa]tipa[ā]ti¹⁴ i[s]ā[ya]¹⁴ āsulopena [m]it[hū]l[ī]ye[na]¹¹
- 6 t[ul]āya¹⁴ [a]nā[ṣ]v[ut]i[ya]¹⁷ alā[s]y[e]na ki[ā]lamath[e]na (O) hevam ichhiṭa[ṣ]v[ī]ye kimu me e[ā]ni jāta[ni] n[ā]o h[ṣ]v[ū]¹⁸ ti (P) savasa chu¹⁹ iyam mū[hi] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[ī]e[ta]ulana) cha (Q) n[ī]t[ī]yam [e]y[am] ki[ā]m[ī]ti [s]iya. .
- 7 samchalitu uthay[ā]²⁰ samchalitavye tu v[ā]tutaviya²¹ [pi] etaviye pi n[ī]t[ī]yam (R) eve dakh[e]ya²² āna[m]ne²³ n[ī]ha[ē]t[ā]v[ī]ye²⁴ heva[m] hevam] cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[ṣ]v[ī]ti ti (S) [e]ta[m] sampatipat[ī]a[ya]m]
- 8 tam mahā-phale hoti āsāmpatipati mahayay[e] hoti (T) vipatipatavāntam no svag[ā]lādhi no jājalhi²⁵ (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kam]masa sa nu k[ū]ti[ā] majh[ā]ti[ā]c[ā]c[ā]²⁶ (V) [e]tam sampatipatavāntam mama]
- 9 cha ānāyem esatha svagam cha ālā[ā]y[ī]sa[ti]h[ī] (W) iyam cha²⁷ hi[p]i anutisam sot[ā]v[ī]ya (X) [a]lā²⁸ [p]i kha[ē]na sot[ā]v[ī]ye ek[ī]k[e]na pi (Y) m[ī]ye²⁹ ch[ā]gathā]
- 10 tave (Z) tāye cha ath[ā]ye iyam [li]khita [l]ipi na mahāmātā nagalaka sa[ṣ]vat[ī]m sama[ā]m [e]tam yu[ṣ]ṣu y[u] t[ī]ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a] . . . ne [m]i[k]i³⁰
- 11 [pa]mhasu pamhasu va[ṣ]su anu[ṣ]ānam³¹ nikh[ī]ti[ṣ]am³² mahāmātā[m] ahamā[ā]m aphal[ā]sa[m] ta³³ pi kumāle [v]i³⁴ . . . ta . . . m[ā]i³⁵ . . . [ā]t[ē]³⁶

¹ Read -munivā me, -munise Senart and Buhler² cha Buhler³ -pulise Senart and Buhler⁴ hi Buhler⁵ Senart and Buhler omit ti⁶ Buhler omitted this word⁷ sampate³⁷ Senart samti³⁸ Buhler⁸ mthā³⁹ Senart, mthā⁴⁰ Buhler.⁹ tīye Senart and Buhler¹⁰ cha Senart and Buhler¹¹ dekhuyi Senart and Buhler¹² nyha⁴¹ Senart and Buhler¹³ Read jālādhi¹⁴ Read amālā¹⁵ samyānam Senart and Buhler¹⁶ Buhler adds vacchaṇḍe, perhaps vakhāṇḍambham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauhi¹⁷ This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte

avā- Buhler, amale Senart and Buhler

¹⁸ pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nati Buhler¹⁹ hi Buhler²⁰ bandha⁴² Senart and Buhler²¹ jāti Buhler²² vā[ṣ] Buhler²³ mthā⁴³ Senart and Buhler²⁴ h[ṣ]v[ū] Senart and Buhler²⁵ ntha[ṣ] Buhler²⁶ v[ā]pita⁴⁴ Senart and Buhler²⁷ amna ne Senart and Buhler²⁸ [ma]ne- Buhler²⁹ mane Buhler.³⁰ Restore akasmā bandham palikha³¹ samā Buhler³² aphala Buhler³³ Buhler adds vacchaṇḍe, perhaps vakhāṇḍambham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauhi³⁴ This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte

- 12 vachanik[a]¹ ada² [anusa]yānam³ n[īkha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[mma]m
 [yitu tam pi tathā] kalamti [athā].

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances⁴

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment⁵

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people⁶ (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,⁷ must exhort⁸ (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you). 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

¹ *javacha*² Senart, *ājavacha*² Buhler; cf. *[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

² *tada* Senart, *adā* Buhler

³ *asāyānam* Senart and Buhler.

⁴ For *svrita* see Bohtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauti has the synonym *svukhita*.

⁵ Luders (SPAW, 1914 862) renders the Dhauti version of this section. 'There is also a single officer who heats of imprisonment or torture', but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII, cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁶ For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2

⁷ As *evā dakṣiṇe* corresponds to *hevaṁmeva e da[kṣeṇa]* at Dhauti, it seems to represent *evā e dakṣiṇe*

⁸ For *nyāpeta* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(B) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly ?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya)

(Y) you will be able to

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]

(AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge) ¹ a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh

(BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]

(CC) from [Takshashīlā].

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],² they will set out on tour, (then), [with out neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain³ whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालोते च आलमेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसधि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेखा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किछदि सु लाजा अफेसु ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन हेयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेसु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमितं च धंमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलापयेयू (I) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4

² See below, p. 117, n. 10

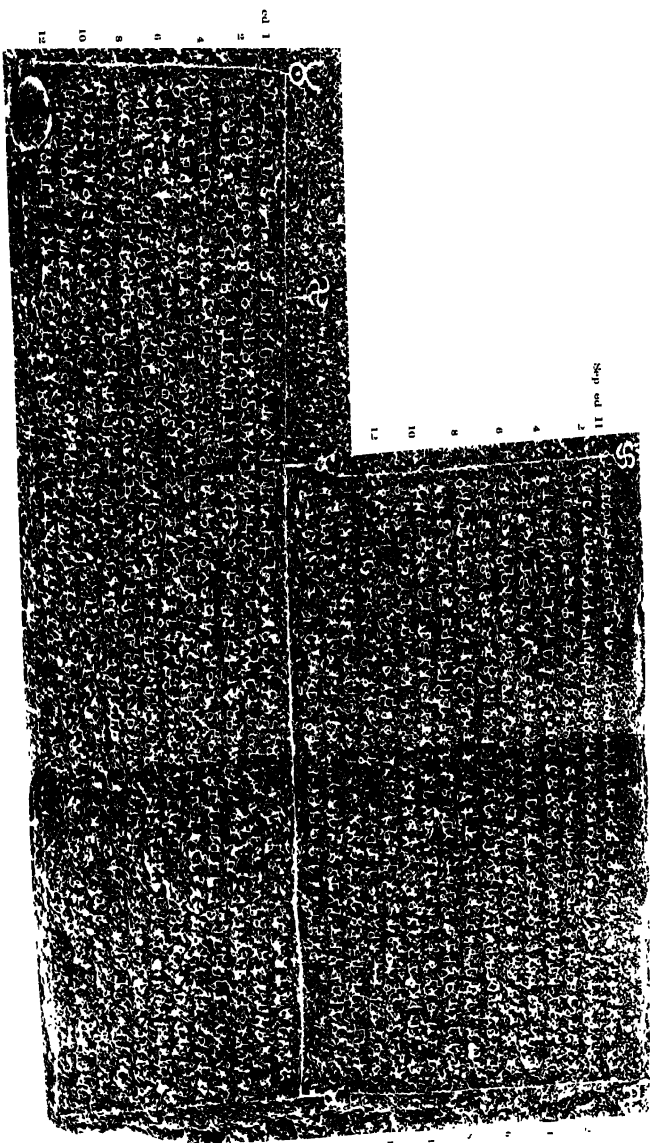
³ The word *jāntamti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context, see the Dhauhi version, CC.

- 8 च अथाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति पटिना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वंगं च आलापयिसस मम च आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P) अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चषथ संपटिपातयितवे

- 1 (A) *Devānarāpiyo* hevam ā[ha] (B) *Samāpāyān* mahamatū l[a]ja-vaṇṇanik[a]¹ vataviya (C) am kicchū dakh[ā]mī hakam tarū [c]h[ā]mī hakam k[im]ti kam kamana
- 2 [m]itayeham duva[ā]te cha alahhcham (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a]² duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]-sa a[m] t[uph]eṣu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sa me pajā (F) atha pajāy[c] ichhami kimti me savena hita-su[kh]ena yu[ṣ]eyu [ā]tha pajāye ichhami kim[ti] m[ā] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[c]eṇa yuṣeyū³ ti hida-logika-pālaloka[k]e[na]⁴ hevammeva me ichha sava-munisessu (G) siya amtanam ā[vijita-
- 5 nam kim chhānde⁵ su jāy āphesū ti (H) etākā⁶ [vā] me ichha [a]ntessu pāpun yu jāy hevam ichh[a]tu anu[v]jāyina hve[yū]⁷
- 6 mamiyāye [a]vaseyu cha me sukham[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [a]o kha[m]⁸ hevam cha pāpuneyu kha[m]sa[ā]tu ne jāyā
- 7 e s[ā]khiye⁹ khamitave mamam nimitam cha dhamma[m]¹⁰ chaley[u] ti hida-log[am] cha palalogam cha alādhayey[ō]¹¹ (I) etāye

¹ *loja*-Senart and Buhler² *mate* Senart, -*matam* Buhler³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yuṣeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake⁴ *kena* Senart and Buhler⁵ *-chhānde* Senart and Buhler.⁶ Read *etākā*, as proposed by Luders, SPAW, 1914, 867.⁷ *heṣu* Senart and Buhler⁸ Read *dukham*.⁹ *chha kive* Senart, *chaktye* Buhler.¹⁰ The Anusvāra of *mam* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Buhler.¹¹ *oyeyu* Senart and Buhler.

JAGGADA ROCK; THIRD COLUMN



Step out II

2

4

6

8

10

12

21

11

4

6

8

10

12

- 8 cha athāye hakam tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kam tupheni a[nu]sāsitu
chhamda[m cha] vedi-
- 9 [r]u ā mama dhiti patimnā cha achala (J) sa hevam [ka]tū¹ l[am]me [cha]litaviye
asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]jā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānam anukampat[i he]vam a[ph]eni
anuka[mpa]ti athā pājā he-
- 11 vam [may]e la[j]ine (K) tupheni hakam anusāsita² [chh]āmdam³ [cha v]e[di]ta⁴
[ā⁵ ma]ma dhiti pati[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desa ay[ut]ke⁶ hosāmi et[ā]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]l[ā]l[o]ki[kā]y]e (M) hevam cha kalamtam svagā[m cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]
mama cha āna[n]eyam es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye ifya[m lipi li[kh]i[ta]⁷ hi[da] e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsavatam⁸ samam⁹
yujeyā asvāsānāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] amā[na]m (O) iyam cha lipi a[nu]ch[a]tum[m]asam
s[ola]viyā tīsena (P) amā[la] pi cha sotaviya
- 16 (Q) khane samtam eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]lam[ta]m chaghattha
sampatipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dhvānārpriya* speaks thus

(B) The *Alahāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king¹⁰

(C) Whatever I recognise (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you

(E) All men are my children

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask) 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me, (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery, (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven, that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world

¹ *kaṭu* Senart and Buhler

² *chhamdam* Senart and Buhler.

³ Senart and Buhler omit *ā*.

⁴ *likhitā* Senart and Buhler

⁵ Read *sasita*, which is Buhler's reading

⁶ Read *vedāta*, *vedāta* Senart, *veditā* Buhler

⁷ Read *desāyutke*.

⁸ *sasvatam* Senart and Buhler

⁹ Read *samayam*

¹⁰ The derivative *l[a]ja-vahanil[a]* seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānāpiyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauti, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf also the opening phrase of the Brahmagui and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātra*s may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of) Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers -

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders)

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

- 5 निखमिठ स
 6 (E) हेत इयं होति बभ
 7 वुद्धानं दसने च हिरन्यपटिविधाने च
 8 धंमानुससि धंम
 9 .. ये रती होति दे
 10 ने भागे अं ..

- 5 nikhamitha Sa¹
 6 (E) heta iyam [ho]ti bam[bha]
 7 vuddhanam dasane² [cha] hiranma-patividhāne cha
 8 [dha*]nimānusa[thi]³ dhamma
 9 .. ye [ra]ti⁴ hoti De
 10 .. n[e] bhage am .

¹ With *asvāsa[n]īyā* cf. *svasānīyā* on the Sarnath pillar, ll 8 and 9

² The two words *khane santam* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p 97, n

³ *nikhamithā sam* Bhagvanlal Indraji.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

⁵ *sathi* Bh. I.

⁶ *sati* Bh. I.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE LIGHT ROCK-EDICULE



SCALE ONE-THIRD

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सद्दुवीसति-
 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धम्मकामताया
 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसुयाया अगेन भयेना
 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
 6 धंमापेखा धम्मकामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा
 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उक्सा चा गेवया चा मज्झिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) *Dovānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā* (B) *saḍḍuvisati-*
 2 *vasa-abhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā*
 3 (C) *hidata pālate dusampatipādaye amnata agāyā dhamma-kamatāyā*
 4 *agāyā palikhāyā agāyā su[su]jyāyā aḡena bhayenā*
 5 *aḡena usahenā* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathiyā*
 6 *dhammapekhā dhamma-kamatā chā suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva*
 7 (E) *pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevaya chā majjhima chā anuvīdhiyamti*
 8 *sampatipādayamti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave* (F) *hemevā amta-*
 9 *mahāmātā pi* (G) *esa¹ hi² vidhi yā iyam dhammena palanā dhammena vidhane*
 10 *dhammena sukhayanā dhammena goti ti*

TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus
 (B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been)
 anointed twenty-six years.
 (C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) ' is difficult to secure

¹ *ca* Buhler.

² *pi* Senart and Buhler, *hi* is quite distinct on the inked stampages.

³ With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *parata*, cf. *pārata* *ika* .
 Guṇār (= *pālāntikya* at Kāśī, and *pālata* elsewhere)

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to surmount⁵ fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātyas* of the borderers⁶ also (are acting)

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं च धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-
13 चतुपदेषु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
14 दाखिमाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
15 अटाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिले-
16 षितिका च होतू नी ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 10 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja*¹⁰
11 hevaṃ ahā (B) dhamme sadhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsīnave¹¹ bahu kayane
12 daya dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me¹² bahuvidhi dīnne (E) dupada-

¹ For *saṃv. saṃv.* = Skt. *śvaś śvaś* (literally 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pālī Dictionary*, s. v. *saṃv.*

² I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pūṭṭa*, see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

³ *ukasa* (= *utkaśa*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

⁴ This meaning of *geriya* is evident from the context. Buhler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *geriya* (for **gēr-aka*) from the root *gēr*, to which the *Dhātupatha* attributes the meaning: 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *upadāṭṭha*, above, p. 33 n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēr* is far from certain, see Childers, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁵ For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pālī Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauh (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁷ For this meaning of *yaṃyam* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pālī expression *jaḍ idam*.

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, F, and VII, V.

⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, I.

¹⁰ *lāja* Senart and Buhler.

¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *sv*.

¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kate ā pāna-
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupatipajamtu chulam-
 16 thitukā cha hotū ti ti¹ (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajasiṭṭe se sukataṃ kachhatti² ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious, but what does morality include?³
 (C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness,
 (and) purity.
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits
 have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written
 by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long
 duration.
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अय चंडिये निवूलिये कोपे माने इस्या
 21 कालनेन व हवं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
 22 हिदतिकारे इयंमन मे पालतिकारे

¹ The remaining versions read *hotu ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *ti* is doubled are quoted in Bohtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kitt* [42] at Kalsi, XII, 1).

² An apparent Anuvāsa after *ka* is probably accidental.

³ Burnouf (*Totus*, p. 667) explained *kīyam* = Skt. *kīyān*.

⁴ *āṣṇava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *anahya* which is derived from *ā + anu*, see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pili term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āṣṇava* or *āsraṇa*. See Burnouf, *Totus*, p. 822 f., *Sarvadaśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f., ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāṣṇave* cf. *apa-iyayati*, *apa-phalaṃ*, and *apa-parisaraṇe* in the Gīrār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Juvuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *mamsa-chakkhu*, *diḍḍa-chakkhu*, and *paññā chakkhu*, see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, 1).

⁸ Cf. the same edict, I.

- 17 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevañ aḥā (B) kayānāmeva dekhati iyañ me
 18 kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpañ d[e]khati iyañ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyañ vā āsinave
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho eṣā (E) hevañ chu kho eṣa dekhīye (F) imāni
 20 āsinava-gāmini nāma atha chandīye nīṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
 21 kālanena va hakañ mā palibhasayisam (G) eṣa bādha dekhīye (H) iyañ me
 22 hīdatikāye iyañmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking) · 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all¹ regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking) · 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'²

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful · Let me not³ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded ·

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)⁴ to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT · DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सङ्खीयसितिवस-
 2 अभिसितिने मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता (C) लज्जूका मे
 3 बहूमु पानसतसहसेमु जनसि आयाता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लज्जूका अस्वच अभीता

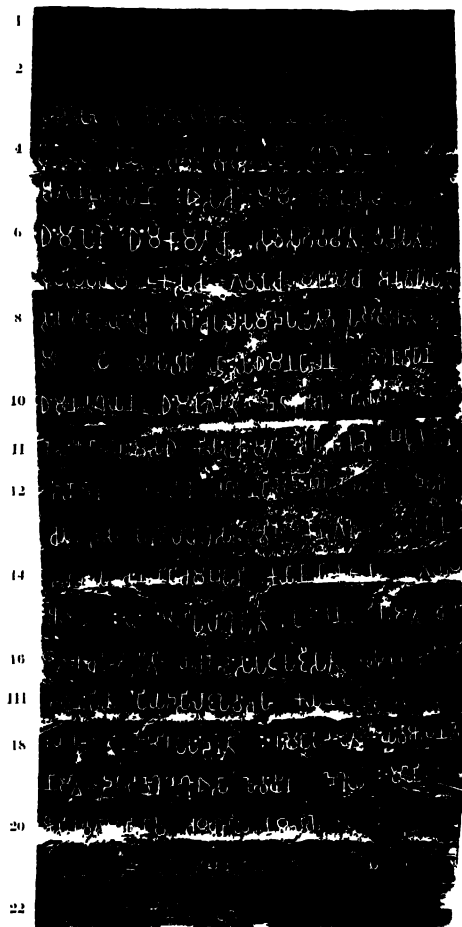
¹ Michelson (IF, 23, 236 f) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also', but this word rather means 'herby'. Buhler (JL, 2, 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

² For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4

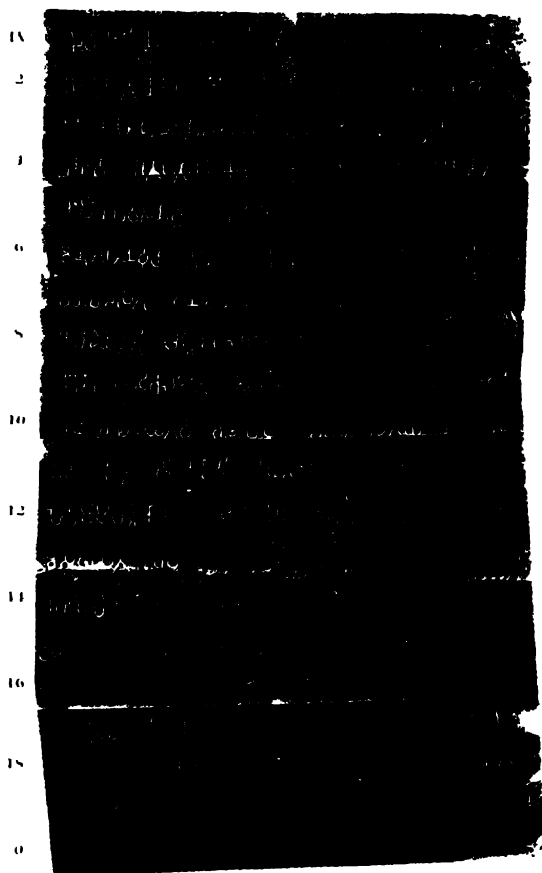
³ With the compound *āsinava-gāmin* cf. *ava-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauī (G) and Jaugada (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23, 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisam*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

⁵ Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Buhler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyāñmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānawameva* in line 17, *hevañmeva* (or *va*) in the Allahabad-Kāśmīr pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauī separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F, *sukhañmeva* in the Dhauī separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 6.



DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR ; WEST FACE



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदं च पालतं च
 8 आलापयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
 9 ऋदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
 10 चघंति आलापयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
 11 अस्वचे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
 13 अस्वच संतं अबिमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि एसा किंति
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अब इते पि च मे आवुति
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंढानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीवित्तये तानं
 18 नासंतं वा निरूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिक्कं उपवासं व कट्ठंति
 19 (N) इद्धा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलापयेवू ति (O) जनस च
 20 वदति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyaḍasi i[ā]ḥa hevam āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhistena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūka me
 3 bahūsu pama-sata-sahasasu janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūka asvatha abhihā
 5 kammani pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukham upadahevu
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukkhiyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha
 7 viyovadisanti janam janapadam kumti hidatam cha pālatam cha
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūka pi laghamti patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
 9 chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihāṭave
 12 hevaṃ mam lajūka kaṭṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhihā
 13 asvatha samtaṃ avimaṇā kammani pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam
 14 abhi[ī]hāle¹ va damde vā ata-patiye kate (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kimti
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) aya ite pi cha me āvuti
 16 bamdhana-badhānam munisaṇam til[ī]ta-damdanam⁴ pata-vadhānam timni
 divasā[n]i me
 17 yote diṇne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tānam
 18 nāsantaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānam dāhamti pālatukam upavāsam va kachhamti
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam aladhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
 20 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane samyame dāna-savvabhāge ti

¹ abhihāle Buhler.⁴ tilita- Snart and Buhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajukas*¹ are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men²

(D) I have ordered that either rewards³ or punishments are left to their discretion,⁴ in order that the *Lajukas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them)

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁵ and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁶ in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajukas* also must obey me⁷

(G) They will also obey the agents⁸ who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁹ in order that the *Lajukas* may be able to please me¹⁰

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajukas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajukas*.

¹ For *Lajuka* or *Kajuka* see above, p. 5, n. 2

² For *ajata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4

In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering', see Buhler, ZDMG, 46, 539 f., and Ludeis, SPAW, 1913 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*, see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. *nīlathya* in the Kalsi rock edict IX, C, and *atha-bhagya* on the Rummindī pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. *sukhyana* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyana*, VII, V.

⁶ Buhler translated *dhamma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dhamma-yut[ta]* is an adjective qualifying *jāman*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhamma-yut[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhamma-yutasa* and *dhamma-yutani* in the Shahbāzgarhi rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dhamma*]-*yutānū* at Gūnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 183) and Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 992) understand the word *dhamma-yut[ta]* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kün (*Jasakilling*, p. 96) compared *laghamti* with Skt. *arhamti*.

⁸ Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 992 f.) has shown that *pulvāni* is the accusative of *pulisa*, which occurs in the pillar edict I, E, and VII, M, cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹ For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12

¹⁰ For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakṣyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

¹¹ K in (*Jasakilling*, p. 99) first identified *vyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amaraśāsa*, has also the meaning of *prāyāsa*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit, see Bohtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s.v. ५५५, and Aśvaghosha's *Samudarananda*, II, 38.

¹² I follow Senart and Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 1009 f.) in making this section end here

¹³ *saṃtam* is a nominative singular absolute. See Ludeis, SPAW, 1913 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments

(L) And my order¹ (reaches) even so far² (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,³ (and) who have been condemned to death

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade⁴ those (*Lajñakas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),⁵ they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world)⁶

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,⁷ they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सद्दुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि ज्ञातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलादे
- 4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुढेके संकुजमळे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडेके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोग नो एति न च खादियती (C)

¹ With *ānti* = *āyukti* (Schnait) cf. -*āntike* in the Dhauḥ separate edict II, 1 8 -- *ānt[at]ike* at Jaugada, II, 1 12, *rohorat* at Sāmāth (I 1c), Shāhbaḡarh, and Mānsirā, and *evaca* at Kalsi = *va[sa]ra* at Guṇāt, XIII, R, *supadarav* at Mānsirā = *supadalaye* at Kalsi, Dhauḥ, and Jaugada, V, G, *sohara* in the Delhi-Toprā pillar edict VII, 1 28 = *sochaya* in edict II, 1 12

² Schnait (IA, 18 9) translated *ava* etc. (Skt. *yavad itah*) by 'from this day'. I follow Buhler's rendering (II, 2 254), and compare *āva-gamā[ti]* in the first separate edict at Dhauḥ (G) and Jaugada (II). Michelson (II, 23 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *parat*, and *avā* the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*

³ With *tilta-danda* cf. *tistatā* (*kājam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-samitana* at Guṇāt, VI 11 9, 10

⁴ Literally, 'will induce to meditate on consider'. Luders (SPAW, 1913 1022 f.) quotes *na macchikano nighapanam karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom, cf. the *Antiliya*, p. 146, last line पुच्छीनाः खमयानुदा वा दीर्घनक्षत्र [वन्धनकाग] दधुः

⁵ Three other versions read 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Luders (SPAW, 1913 1023 f.) has explained *nāsāntam* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nāthi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

⁶ As shown by Luders (SPAW, 1913 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Buhler (FI, 2, 254, n. 28) took *nuuddu* 'pi *kāl* in the sense of *nyūḍha-kāl* 'pi, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Luders (SPAW, 1913 1026) translates 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916, 123) 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *nuuddho*

- 8 एठका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पातके
 9 पि च कानि आसमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 10 नो ज्ञापेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो ज्ञापेतविये
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं
 12 तिन दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
 13 अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
 14 नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि ज्ञानानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पनडसाये तिसाये
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
 17 अत्रके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुमासिये चातुमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 20 अंतलिक्काये पनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ahā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyani kaṭāni seyaṭhā
 3 suke sālīka alunc chakavāke gamse nāḍimukhe gelaṭe
 4 jatukā amlā-kapilikā dālī¹ anathika-machhe vedaveyake
 5 Gaṅgā-piṇṇatake samkuja-machhe kaphaḍa]-sayake paṇṇa-sase simale
 6 sandake okapiṇṇe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
 7 sava chatupade ye paṭibhogāni no eti na cha khādiyati² (C)³
 8 [e]lakā⁴ chā sukālī chā gabhinī va piyamīnā va avadhī[y . p . ta]ke⁵ . .
 9 pi cha kaṇi āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kataviye (E) tuse sajiwe
 10 no jhapetaviye (F) dave anathāye vā vilāsāye vā no jhapetaviye
 11 (G) jīve na jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsū tisayaṇi puṇṇamāsīyaṇi
 12 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇadasaṃ paṭṭapadāy[e] dhuvaye chā
 13 anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva⁶ divasāni
 14 naga vanasī kevaṭa-bhogasī yaṇi amnāni pi jīva-nikkāyaṇi
 15 no haṇṭaviyaṇi (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṇṇadasāye tisāye
 16 puṇāvāsune tisu chātummāsīsū sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye
 17 ajake eḷake sukale e vā pi amne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye
 18 (K) tisāye puṇāvāsune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasā gonasa
 19 lakhane no kataviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
 20 antalikāye paṇṇaviṣati baṇḍhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ *daḍ* Buhler, but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Luders in JRAS, 1911 1088. The other versions read *dālī*, and the Allahabad-Kosam pillar *dādī*.

² *khādiyati* Buhler

³ Three other versions read *ajakā nānu*.

⁴ Restore *avadhīyā potake*.

⁵ *edakā* Buhler

⁶ *yeva* Buhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the *aruna*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *mandimukha*, the *gelāta*, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the *vidaveya*,⁴ the *Gaṅgā-puputaka*, skate-fish,⁵ tortoises⁶ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁷ the *śpīmarā*,⁸ bulls set at liberty,⁹ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁹ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],¹⁰ ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings)

¹ *scyathā* = Pali *scyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*

² Michelson (IF, 23 266 f) dissolves *anibākapilika* into **ambala* (an adjective formed of *amba*) and **pilikā* (for *pupilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pali *kupilika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā kapilika*. Skt *pupilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenchner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

³ Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, 1 368) takes *ānṛjī* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

⁴ With *saukya* Senart (IA, 18 75) compares Skt. *saukuchi* or *sāukuchi*, which may be derived from *saukuch*, 'to contract'.

⁵ The identification of *kaphata* with Skt. *kaṁatha* is due to Senart, see IA, 18 75.

⁶ This doubtful explanation of *parna-tata* was proposed by Buhler, see LI, 2 260.

⁷ This animal is mentioned in the *Kāntilya*, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37 211) remarks that this translation of *sandaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull', but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kalidāsa's *Meghaduta* (v 45) to king Rantidīva who, according to the *Mahabhārata* (7 67, 5, 12, 29, 123, 13 66, 42 f), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Chaimanvati. According to the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yajñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttarāśmaka* it is stated that a heifer (*ratatati*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasīṣṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gṛghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Patañjali (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Apastamba (*Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage, cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *sulava*, a 'spit-on' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers, see Neumann's translation of the *Dighanikāya*, vol II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, 1. 373, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol II, p. 145, Hastings' *Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacob.

⁹ According to Trenchner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palāsata* (= Vedic *parāśvat*) is the original of Pali *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v 267, and *palāsata* ibid., VI, p. 277, v. 1205, see Kern's *Verzeichniss op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun *nānī* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Luders (SPAW, 1913 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajākāmānī* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajāka*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nānī* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajāka*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *śke* in the Queen's edict, I. 4, *kāmī* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in I. 9, see Luders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs¹ (and) on the Tishyā full-moon² during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.³

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park⁴ (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,⁵ on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,⁶ bulls⁷ must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).⁸

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT · DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवाडस-
- 2 वसअभिसित्तेन मे धम्मल्लिपि लिखापिता लोक्कसा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धम्मवडि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोक्कसा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अय इयं
- 5 नात्तिसु हेवं पत्तियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

¹ i. e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter), see Buhler, I.I, 2 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).

² *tisā* (i. e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tis* (i. e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisa or Pausha, see E.I, 2. 264.

³ With the words *dhuvāye khā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sāmāth pillar, I 8.

⁴ For *naga-rana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kāntiliya*, p. 50.

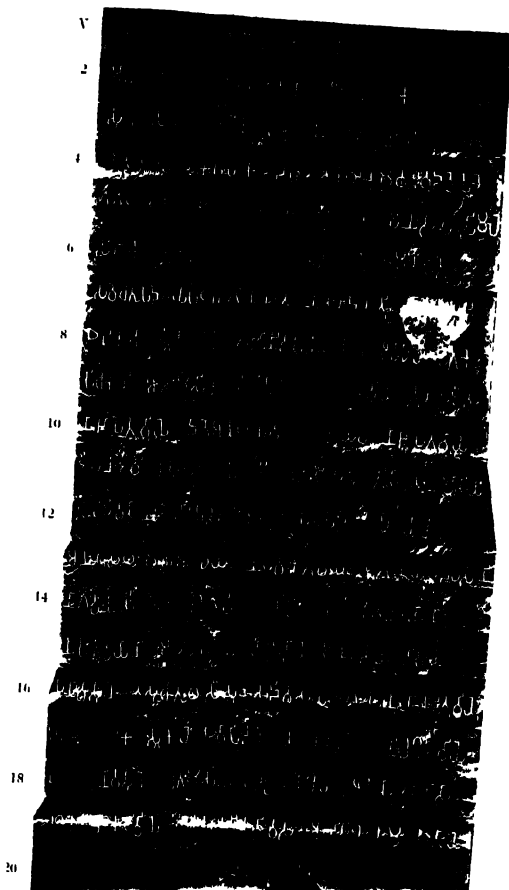
⁵ In the compound *atthami pakka* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Buhler, I.I, 2 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34 434.

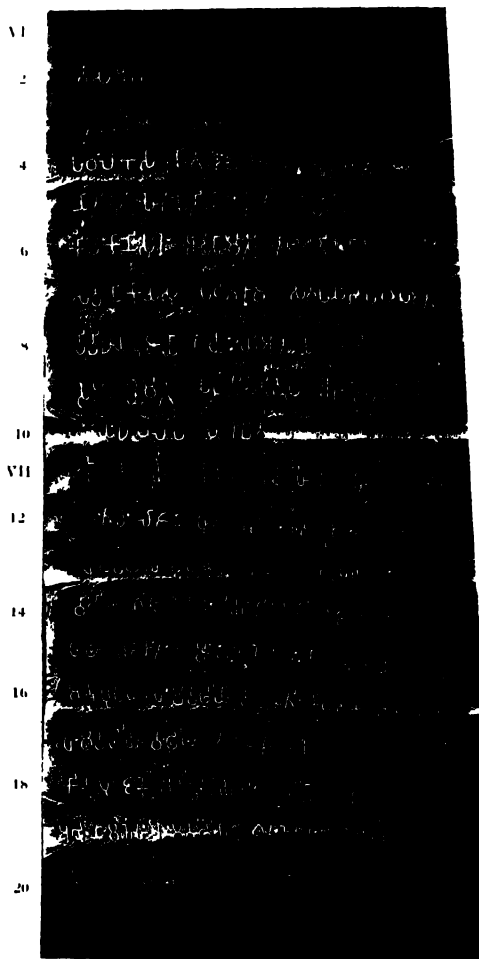
⁶ According to the *Kāntiliya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant, see below, n. 8.

⁷ For *gona*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gā*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 193.

⁸ The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kāntiliya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Buhler, ZDMG, 48 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kāntiliya*, p. 407 [विजिबीपुर्ववमवाय जय] कारदेससर्ववममोचयं

... वातुर्गोक्षिषधर्माखिकमवातं योर्धमातीषु च वातुराषिषं राषदेससर्ववममोचयं योविब-जयधं पुस्सोपवात च प्रतिविषयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'





- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवाहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
 7 सवनिक्कयेसु पटिवेस्सामि (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजिता
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं क्षतना पचूपगमने
 9 से मे मोक्ष्यमते (G) सदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
 10 इयं धम्मलिपि लिखायिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyaḍasi lāḥa hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍasa-
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahatā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vadhi pāpovā
 4 (C) hevaṃ lokasa hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ
 5 nātisu hevaṃ patiyāsamnesu hevaṃ apakathesu
 6 kimam kāni sukham avahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā
 7 sava-nikāyesu pativekhāmi¹ (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjita
 8 vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā² pachūpagamane
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing³ those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects

(C) (Thinking) 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)'; I am directing my attention not only⁴ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds⁸

¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*, cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

² *atunā* Buhler, but see Fleet's note, IA, 13, 310

³ Kern (*J'artelling*, p. 92 f.), explained *apahatā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VUJ, 9, 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications *apahatā* may correspond as well to **a-prahritā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-vā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect, see Luders, SPAW, 1913, 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nyhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁴ With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidāni*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

⁵ *kimam* (or *kimamān* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudāni* of Skt. *svad*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18, 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34, 430. Buhler (EI, 2, 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva* = *kimvaṇ*.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),¹ viz.² visiting (the people) personally.³

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकांतं
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इच्छिमु कथं जने
 13 धंमवडिया वडेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया
 14 वडिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
 15 हुषा (E) अतिकांतं च अंतलं हेवं इच्छिमु लाजाने कथं जने
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
 17 धंमवडिया वडिया (F) से किन्सु जने अनुपटिपजेया
 18 (G) किन्सु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति (H) किन्सु कानि
 19 अभ्युनामयेहं धंमवडिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुषा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 धंमवडिया च बाढं वडिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य सिा पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते पल्लियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पल्लियोवदाष
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने
 धंमचंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम कटे (Q) देवानंपिये
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
 छायोपगानि होसंति पमुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अढ-
 कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिडया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं (U) ल एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock edict VIII, E, and *atanā āgūcha* on the Rumminder and Nigālī Sāgar pillars Senart (JA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sect)', and Buhler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिनेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं च धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदया मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेषु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहियानं च सब ठेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका सुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सबसि च मे ओलोपनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकसि हेवं बडिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन बडिता च
- 29 बडिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलूसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमबडि बडिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुत्तिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुत्तिया च भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुत्तिया च चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमबडि बडिता अबिहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अषाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुल्लियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमल्लिचि लिखापापिता ति (RB) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमल्लिचि अत अपि सिलाकंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikamtaṃ
 12 amtalam lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhiṣu katham jane
 13 dhamma-vadhiya vadheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiya
 14 vadhiṭha (C) etam **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (D) csa me
 15 luṭha (E) atikamtam cha amtam[ā]m¹ hevaṃ ichhiṣu lājāne katham jane
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadhiyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
 17 dhamma-vadhiyā vadhiṭha (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]tipajeyā²
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
 19 abhyumnāmayecham dhamma-vadhiyā ti (I) etam **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā**
 hevaṃ
 20 āhā (J) csa me luṭhā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etam jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyumnāmisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 dhamma-vadhiyā cha bādham vadhiṣat[i] (M) etāye me āthāye dhamma-sāvanāni
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividham ānapitāni [ya] [is]ā³ pi bahune
 janasi āyata e te⁴ paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyata te pi me anapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha
 23 janam dhamma-yu[ta]m (O) **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi** hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-tharibhami katāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]
 . ā . . . e⁵ kaṭe (Q) **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi
 me nigohāmi lopapitāni cihāyopagāni hosanti pasu-munisānaṃ ambā-vadikyā
 lopāpātā (S) adha[kus]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
 24 khānapapitāni nimsi[dha]ya⁶ cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[ā]su-munisānam (U) [la]⁷ esa paṭibhoge nāma
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhayanayā pulimehi pi lajhi mamayā cha sukhayite loka
 (W) imam chu dhammānupatipati anupaṭipajanti ti etadathā me
 25 esa kate (X) **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi** hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me
 te bahuvidhesu athesu ānugahikesu viyāpātāse pavajitānam cheva ghithanam
 cha sava [i]su⁸ pi cha viyāpātāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
 viyāpātā hohanti ti hemeva bābhānesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kate
 26 ime viyāpātā hohanti ti niganthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpātā hohanti nānā-
 pāsamedesu pi⁹ me [ka]te ime viyāpātā hohanti ti paṭivisiṭham pativisiṭham
 tesu tesu [te] mātā¹⁰ (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me ctesu cheva
 viyā[pa]lā savesu cha amhesu pāsamedesu (BB) **Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā**
 hevaṃ āhā

¹ Read *amtalam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.² The *pa* of *paṭipajā* is inserted above the line³ Restore *yathā pulisā*⁴ *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.⁵ Restore *dhamma-sāvanāne*.⁶ *nimsudhiya* Bühler⁷ Restore *lahuke chu*.⁸ Restore *sava-pāsamedesu*.⁹ *pi* look; almost like *gha*.¹⁰ Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinam cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi¹ hida cheva disasu cha (DD) dalakānam pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devi-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭa hohaṃti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānāthaye dhammānupaṭṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma paṭṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sacche sochave madave sādha[v]ḥ cha lokasa hevaṃ vadhisati ti (FF) Devānāmpīye [P s .² l]ājā hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhaṃvāni kaṭani tam loke anup[a]ṭṭipamne tam cha anuvidhiyamtī (HH) tena vadhitā cha
- 29 vadhisamtu cha mātā-piṭṭi[ṣu] sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dusa-bhāṭakesu sampatipatiyā (II) Devānāmpīy[ya]dasi³ lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisaṇam chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vadhi vadhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma niyamenā cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jānāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .⁴ dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭani (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisaṇam dhamma-vadhi vadhitā avihimsāye bhutānaṃ
- 31 anālabbhāye pānānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]kiye⁵ iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama suliyike hotu ti tatha cha anupaṭṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭṭipajamtam hi[da]ta-pāṇāte āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābbhi[s]itena me iyaṃ dhamma-lībī likhāpapatā ti (RR) etam Devānāmpīyo⁶ āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-lībī ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni va tata kaṭaviyā cna csa chila-ṭhitike siya

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that⁷ men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality, but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,⁸ king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality, (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2, 274, note k) restored *paṭṭipādyaṃti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivodayaṃti*; cf. *paṭivodayaṃtu* in the Jaugarā rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore *Piyadasi*

³ Restore **pye Priyadasi*.

⁴ Restore *bahukāṃ*.

⁵ *aṭhāye* Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānāmpīye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]kiye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895, 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How¹ then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate² them³ by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,⁴ (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)⁵ too, who are occupied⁶ with many⁷ people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*⁸ also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner⁹ exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality

(Q) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,¹² (and) mango-groves¹³ were caused to be planted.

¹ Senart (IA, 18 302) explains *kinash* = Pāli *kenasam* and Skt. *kṛna-svut*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s v *astu*. For *su* = *svut* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative **nāmayehām* cf. [pa]ti[śāday]ehām and ālabhehām in the Dhauī separate edict I, B, and *yehām* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyāmi sāvaṇe sāvaṇīte* at Brahmagiri (I. 5), for which the Siddāpura edict (I. 11) reads [*iyā*]m *sāvaṇe sāvaṇīte*, and the Rūpnāth edict (I. 3) *sāvaṇe kaḥ*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Barāt, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhamma-sāvaṇāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

⁷ With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvāsunc* in the pillar-edict V, II 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ *anuvakhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Luders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In *ambā-vatīkā* and *adhā-[āśa]kā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes, *-kā* and *-ka* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kāśī; see there *nāṭkyā*, *pālāntkyā*, &c. The form *ambā-vatīkā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābhikā-bhātī* (= **āmrikā-bhṛtī*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vatīkā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛtikā* (= *vṛth*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vātīkā*, presupposes the form **vartukā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.

DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; CIRCULAR INSCRIPTION



SCUL. INDIAN

(B) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*¹ wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)² were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places³ were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence]⁴

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:⁵ that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāshpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those⁶ my *Alakāmātras* of morality too are occupied⁷ with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all facts.

¹ Fleet (JRAS, 1906, 401 ff.) showed that *adha* here represents Skt. *ashtan*, and not *ardha*. According to Iliuon-Tsiang, Bāna, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

² Buhler read *nīśudhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nīśudhiyā* (from Skt. *nīśhidati*) in the Nāgārjuna Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arakata-nīśudhiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Luders (SPAW, 1914, 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhī *sedhi* = Skt. **śliṣhti*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *nīśudhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīśayanti*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nīś[adha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. **nīśhaktā*. For the change of *śi* to *ni* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *dh* = original *sh* cf. *adha* = *ashta* at the beginning of section S.

³ With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāśik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Śiṃhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hīndūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands, he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hīndū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hīndūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hīndi *bakāngī*, Dravidian *kāvāṅgi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, plate 57, 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7, 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

⁴ A similar phrase occurs in the Kāśī and Shāhbāgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

⁵ For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edict Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *atha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *stadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold' as he confesses himself.

⁶ The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

⁷ Franke (VOJ, p. 349 f.) has pointed out that *vijāpāṭṭe*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prakṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āśah*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves¹ with the affairs of the *Saṃgha*,² likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmanas (and) Ājivikas,³ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas;⁴ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are) busying themselves specially with different (congregations).⁵

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)⁶ are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity⁷ both here⁸ and in the provinces

(DD) And others⁹ were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,¹⁰ in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *me* by 'others'.

² i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

³ For the Ājivika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

⁴ i.e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at Shāhbāgarhi (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *mukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments', see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tathāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatanā* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Luders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushta* in the sense of *tushti*.

⁸ viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

⁹ Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

¹¹ See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā tyani* we may have to supply *dhaname*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it, cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Luders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King *Dēvaṇāśhpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.²

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),³ and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,⁴ (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, *Dēvaṇāśhpriya* says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that⁶ this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे

1 [naṁ] dhammen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me].....

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ .. (B) धंमे साधु कियं मे ति

2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सबे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाना पि मे

¹ Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916, 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapṣi* has the meaning 'reflection'.

² See the pillar-edict V.

³ Cf. *puta-papotiḥ chandama-sūriyṣe* on the Sārichī pillar, C, *ā-chandama-shūlyani* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20, 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārka* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.

⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO, see above, p. 133, n. 6.

⁶ *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauī separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M

- ३ बहुविधे दिने (B) दुपदचतुपदेसु पक्षिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
 ४ गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अनानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि
 ५ कटानि (G) एताये मे कटाये इयं धंमल्लिपि लिखापिता
 ६ अनुपदिपजंतू चिलंधितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च
 ७ सति से सुकटं कटती ति

- 1 (A) De[va]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[am]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m
 [m]e ti
 2 (C) a[pā]śinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā² [pi me]
 3 bahuvidhe dirhne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lī[khāpita]
 6 anupaṭipajantū chīl[am̐-th]itika cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha]
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṃ ka[chha]ti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

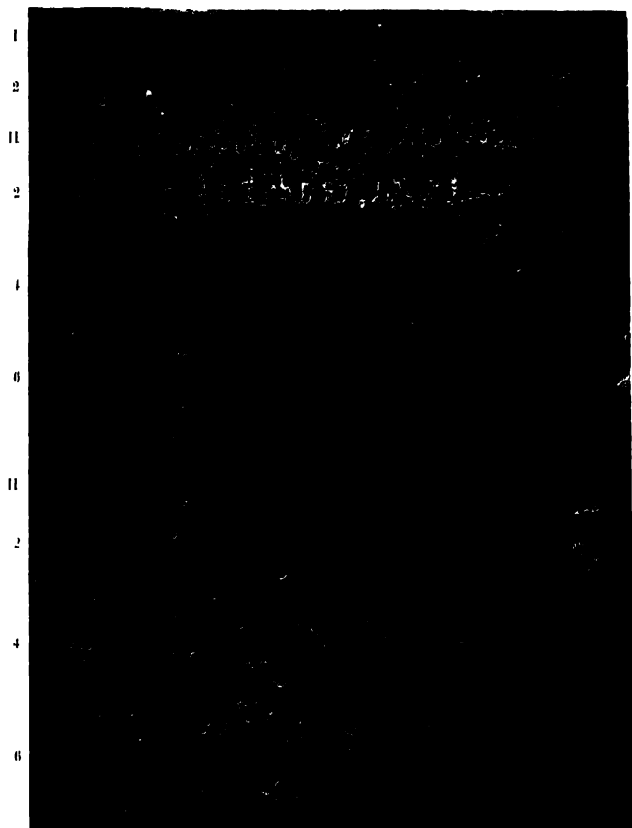
- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पाये कटे ति इयं व
 ३ आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपदिवेसे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
 ४ (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम क्ख चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे
 ५ माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभससिं (G) बाढं
 ६ देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja³ hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānaṃm̐[eva de]
 2 kayāne kaṭe ti⁴ (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e⁵ kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]pāṭivekhe chu kho eṣā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [eṣā⁶ de]khiye
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye nī[thū]lī[y]e k[o]khe
 5 māne isyā kālānena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sayī[sā]ṇi (G) bā[dham]
 6 dekhīye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1
 2 व चरति आलापयितवे
 ३ तु अस्वये होति
 ४ विय लिहटवे हेवं ममा
 ५ लज्जू ये (J) येन एते कभीता

¹ lāja Buhler.³ lāja Buhler.⁶ . . sā Buhler.⁴ ts Buhler.² -[dā]naṃ Buhler.⁵ pāpaṃ Buhler.



SCALE ONE FOUR



- 6 अस्वच सं पयतवेवू ति एतेन मे
 7 लजृकानं अतपतिथे कटे
 8 (K) इक्षितवि हालसमता च सिया
 9 दंडसम मे आवुति बंधनवधानं
 10 मुनिसानं वधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे
 11 योते दिने (M) पयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 12 नासंतं वा नि ति पालतिकं
 13 उपवासं वा क हेवं निलुपसि पि कालसि
 14 पालतं आलाधये वदति विविधे धंसचलने
 15 संयमे दान

- 1
 2 [ka]¹ chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]
 3 tu asvathe² [ho]ti
 4 vi[ya] [i]i[ha]tave hev[ar̥m mam]ā
 5 [la]jūk[a]³ ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā
 6 asvatha sar̥m [pa]vataye[v]u ti [c]te[na] me
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[ar̥m] ata-patiye ka[ṭṭ]c
 8 (K) ichhitavi [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
 9 dar̥ha-sa[ma] [me] āvuti [ba]ndhana-[badh]ānam
 10 munisā[nar̥h] vadhānam timni di[va]sāni [m]c
 11 y[o]te dimne (M) payisa[r̥h]ti j[i]v[i]kāye tāna[r̥h]
 12 nāsantar̥h [v]ā ni ti pālatikar̥h
 13 u[pa]vāsam vā k[a] hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasī
 14 pā[la]tar̥h ālādha[ye] vadhati vividhe dhaṁma-chal[a]nc
 15 sar̥hyame dā[na]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 योतके पि च कानि
 2 के (D) वधिकुण्डे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीये
 3 तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो
 4 झपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
 5 तिसावं पुनमासिबं तिनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनडसं
 6 पटिपदा ध्रुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि
 8 यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिक्कयानि नो हंतवियानि

¹ [la]jūkā] Bühler.² asva[the] Bühler.³ lajūkā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पंनइसाये तिसाये
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
 11 नो नीलखितविने अजके एऊके सुकले ए वा पि
 12 अने नीलखितति नो नीलखितविने (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
 13 चातुमासिसे चातुमासिपसाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
 14 नो विने (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 15 अंतलिवाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 [potake¹ pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
 2 ke (D) [vadhji-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]
 3 ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]nathāye vā vihisāye vā no
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi],e (G) ji[v]ena ji[v]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisū chātarmāsīsu²
 5 [t]sāya[rh] pu[mna]mā[si]ya[rh] tirhni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnadāsam
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye³ cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi
 7 vikatav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
 8 y[āni] arhāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni⁴
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye⁵ [chā]vudasāye paṃ[na]dasāye tisāye
 10 punāvasune tisū chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone
 11 no nilakhitavi[y]e ajake elake⁶ sūkale e vā pi
 12 aṃ[n]e ni[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
 13 chāturmāsīye chātu[rh]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
 14 no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
 15 a[m]talikāye paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT. DELHI-MIRATH

.....

- 1 उपगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सहु
 2 तिसतेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लि

- 1 upagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu
 2 isitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[pi] li

¹ On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 144), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

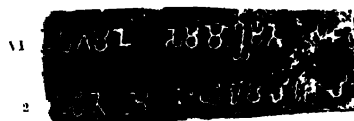
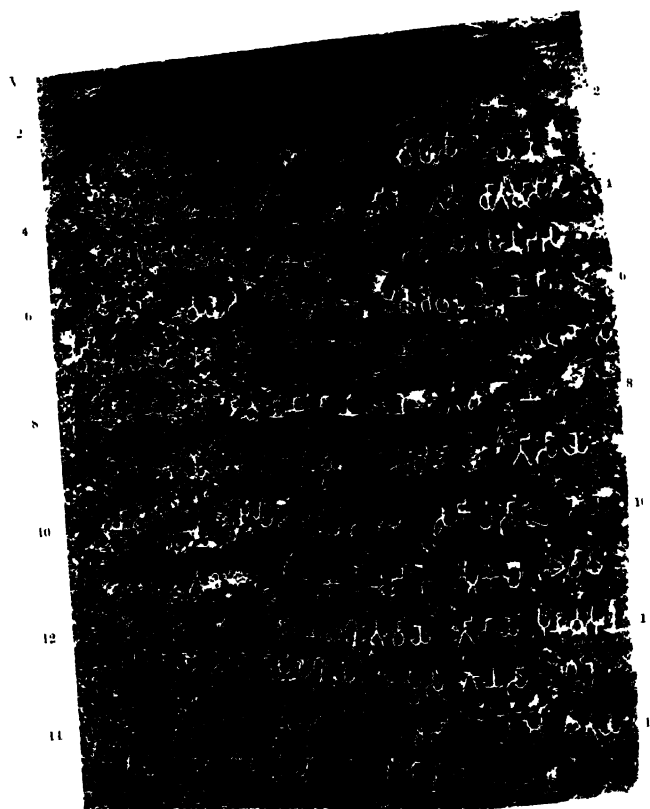
² Read *chātum*.

³ *dhuvāye* Buhler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ *yāni* Buhler.

⁵ *atham[i]*- Buhler.

⁶ *elake* Buhler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सद्दुविसतिवसाभिस्सितेन मे इयं धंमत्तिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
- 3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेस्स
- 4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च मेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i
- 2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāy[a]
- 3 agāya susūsāya aṇeṇa bhayena aṇeṇa usāheṇa (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha¹
- 4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhita² vaḍḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti
- 5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alam chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
- 6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासितवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सवे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पस्सिवाल्लिचत्तेसु विविधे मे अनुगाहे कटे

¹ *dhammāpekha* Buhler.² *vaḍḍhita* Buhler.

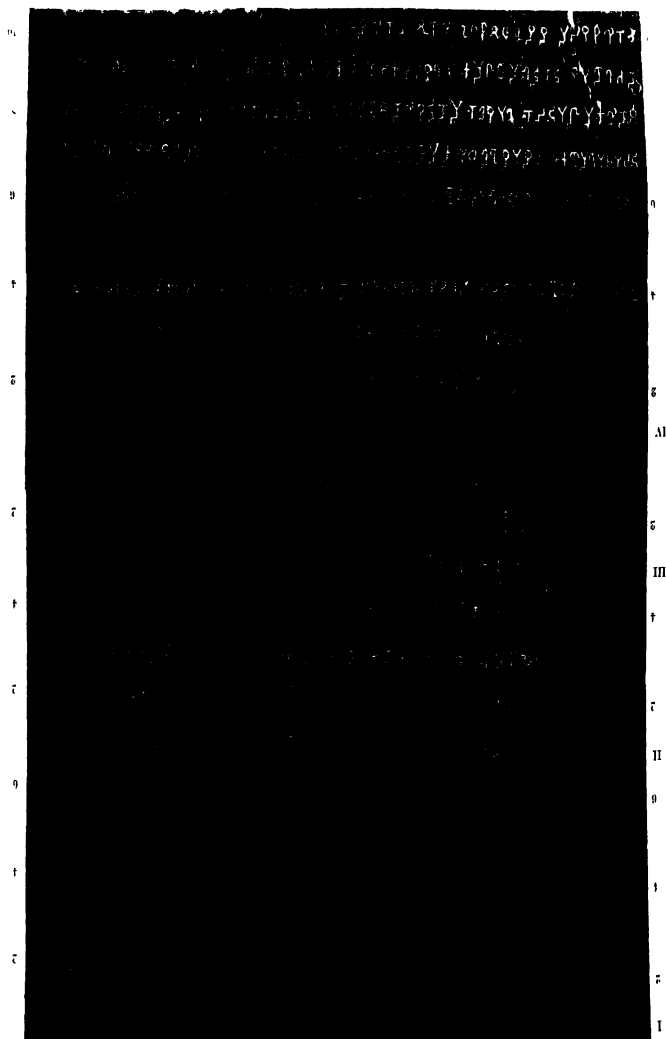
- 3 आ पानदक्षिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
अढाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापित हेवं
- 4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंघिताका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं
कच्छति ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
- 2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-
vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
- 3 ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) a[ṃ]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ
- 4 anupaṭipajantū chilam-thitūka cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampāṭipajisati se
sukatam kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंढिये
- 3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इय कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekharnti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekharnti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
- 3 niṭhaliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bādhaṃ
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidaṭikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंहे व अतपितये मे कटे किंति लज्जूका
अस्वच अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च
- 4 पालतं च आलापयेवु (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं



- 5 लज्जक चरंति आलाधयेव (X) अथा हि पजं विवताये भातिये निसिजितु
अस्वये होति विवत भाति चपति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति
6 हेवं मम लज्जक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (Y) येन एते अभीत अस्वया संतं
अहिमन कमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जकानं अभिहाले व
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (Z) इच्छितविये हि एस किंति विबोहालसमता च सिय
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिक्का
व कानि निरूपयिंसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व
9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति
10 (O) जनस च वहति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisaṭṭena me
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pana-sata-sahasesu
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[ā]ṇḍe va ata-patiye me kaṇe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhita kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahincvu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisamtu
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
4 pālataṃ cha alādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi
me chhamādamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam
5 lajūka chaghamti alādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇam viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu asvathē
hoti viyata dhātī chaghati me paṇam¹ sukham palihāṭve ti
6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṇa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena etc abhita asvathā
saṃtaṃ achhimana² kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va
7 daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṇe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya
daṇḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ
8 munisa[n]ṇi tilita-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṇṇi divasāni me yote diṃne (M)
nātukā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va
9 nijhapay[ita]ve dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ alādhayevū ti
10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[n]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सद्धुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवध्यानि
2 कटानि सेवच सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक
3 अंबावापिलिक दुक्ति अनठिकमळे वेदयेमळे गंगाप्पुण्टके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके

¹ Read *paṇam*.² Read *avimana*.

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडि पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च
 गभिनी च पायमीना च
 6 अवध पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविचे (E) तुसे सजीवे
 नो ज्ञापयितविचे (F) दावे
 7 अनटाये च विहिसाये च नो ज्ञापयितविचे (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविचे (H)
 तीसु चातुमासीसु तिस्रं
 8 पुंनमासिचं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनठसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
 महे अवधे नो पि
 9 विकेतविचे (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि
 पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु
 चातुमासीसु
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविचे अजके एठके सूकले ए वा पि अंने
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविचे
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुमासिचे चातुमासिपसाये अत्तस गोन्स लखने
 नो कटविचे
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति वंधन-
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhāsitaṁ me
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīka alune chakavāko haṁse naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka
 3 ambā-kapilika duli¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṁgā-puṇṇake saṁkuja-machhe
 kaphaṭa-seyake
 4 paṁna-sase simale saṁdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote sava
 chatupade
 5 ye paṭipogaṁ² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkali cha
 gabhīni va pāyamīnā va
 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsarhmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajiṁve
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
 7 anaṭhāye va vihiṣāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu
 chāturmāsīsū tisyāṁ
 8 puṁnamāsīyaṁ tiṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ³ paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha
 anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi
 9 vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pi
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

¹ *dudī* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pak.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911, 1087.

² Read *paṭibhogaṁ*.

³ *paṁnaḷasaṁ* Bühler.

- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃye paṇṇaḍasaṃye tisāṃye punāvasune
tisu chātummāsīsū
11 sudivasāṃye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake¹ sūkale e vā pi aṇṇe nīlakhiyati no
nīlakhitaviye
12 (K) tisāṃye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane
no kaṭaviye
13 (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasābbhisitassa me etāṃye aṇṇalikāye paṇṇavisati baṇḍhana-
moghāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदस्ति लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धम्मलिपि
लिखापित लोकस्
2 हितसुखाये से तं अपाहट तं तं धम्मवदि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस् हितसुखे ति
पटिवेस्सामि
3 अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्थासंनेसु हेव अपकस्सेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति
तथा च विदहामि
4 (D) हेमेव सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेस्सामि (E) संवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय
पूजाय (F) ए च्चु इयं अतन पच्चूपगमने
5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सद्दुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānarhpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābbhisitena me
dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
2 hita-sukhāye se tam apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa
hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsamnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṇṇam kāni sukham
āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjita vividhāya
pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
5 se me mukhya-mute² (G) saḍḍuvisati-vasābbhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT · LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदस्ति लाज हेवं आह (B) सद्दुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
2 धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धम्मकामताय
3 अगाय पत्तीसाय अगाय सुसुसाय अगेन भवेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस च्चु
सो मम

¹ eḷake Buhler.² See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसन्धिय धंमायेस्स धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वड्ढित वड्ढिसति चेव (B) पुलिसा
पि मे
- 5 उक्सा च गेवया च मग्गिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं अपलं
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेनेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhhisitena me
iyam
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hūdata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekkha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyānti saṃpaṭipādayānti cha alam
chapalaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT · LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पक्षि-
वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदक्षिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
चिलंषितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya¹ chu dhamme
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe diṇne (E) dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vāllichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni
kayānāni

¹ *kiyam* Bühler.

- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu
chālaṁ-thitā cha hotu ti
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देसंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं
2 देसंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेसे चु खो एस
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्स
कालनेन व इहं
4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस चाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयमन मे
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekaṁtu iyaṁ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mīna pāpaṁ
2 dekaṁtu iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ v āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho
esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhīye
3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāminī¹ nāmā ti atha chaṁdiye nīḍhūliye kodhe mānc isya
kālanena v ahaṁ
4 mā paḷibhasayasīsaṁ ti (G) esa bādhaṁ dekhīye (H) iyaṁ me hidaṭikāye iyaṁmana
me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे
2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आगत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये
मे कटे किंति लज्जूक अस्वथ
3 अभीत कमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं
4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
आलापयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति
5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे ऊदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूक चपंति आलापयितवे

¹ āsinave Buhler.

- 6 (I) अथा हि पञं वियताये धातिवे निसिञ्जितु अस्वये होति वियत धाति चपति
मे पञं सुखं पलिहदवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लज्जुक षट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वया संतं
अविमन बंभानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लज्जुकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि एस
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीवित्तये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
उपवासं व कटंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुपसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वदति विविधे
धमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhāsitaṃ me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṃḍe va
ata-patiye me kaṭe kimti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhita kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
anugahinevū cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
- 5 paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāṇi pi me cchamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi
cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me
paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena etc abhita asvathā
saṃtam avimāna kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa
kimti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisaṇaṃ tilita-daṃḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisanti jivitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayī[tav]e dānaṃ dāhamti
pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) icchā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kā]lasī pālatam ālādhayevū tī [] (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनस्से सिमले संडके ओकपिंटे
5 पलस्से सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध पोतके
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुवुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो आपयितविये (F)
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो आपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंति दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनठसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
मछे अवधे
- 10 नो पि विरुत्तविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनठसाये
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एठके सूकले ए
वा पि अने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-
पखाये अस्वस गोमस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhīsitaṃ me
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
3 naṃdimukhe gelāte jatūka āmbā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4 Gaṃgā-puṇṇaṭṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-saṃse simale saṃdake
okapiṇṇe

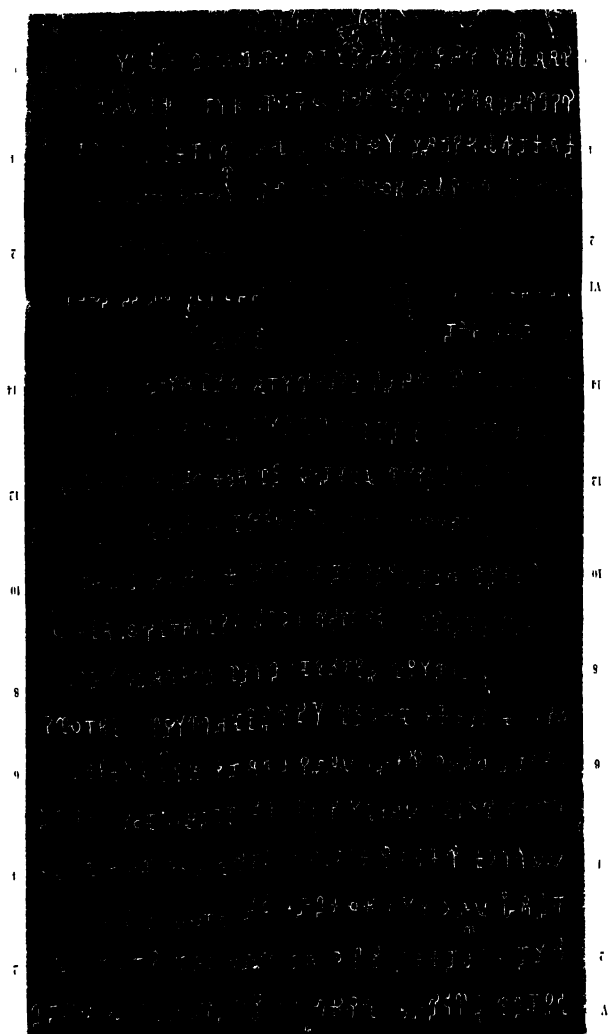
¹ *duḍḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911. 1087

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
 6 (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
 7 āsarmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anathāye va
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chāturmāsīsu tisiyam
 9 purṇamāsīyam tihni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ¹ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ² tisiāye punāvasune
 12 tisu chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake³ sūkale e vā pi aṃne
 13 nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisiāye punāvasune chāturmāsīye chāturmāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasābbhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati
 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
 लिखापित
 2 लोक्स हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवडि पापोव (C) हेवं लोक्स
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेस्सामि अया इयं नात्तिमु हेवं पयासंनेसु हेवं अपफटेसु
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिक्खयेसु पटिवेस्सामि
 5 (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
 6 से मे मोक्षामुते (G) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja hevam āha (B) duvā[ḷa][a-va]sābbhisitena¹ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahaṭa tam taṃ dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hēvaṃ lokasa
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhami athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakāthesu
 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhāṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikkāyesu paṭivekhami
 5 (E) sava-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍvīsati-va[s]ābbhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.² paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.³ eḷake Bühler.⁴ duvāḷasa- Bühler.



V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीसाय अगाय सुसुसाय
अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति
चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे
(F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānarhpiye P[i]yadasī lāja heva¹ āha (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisitena me
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusampaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve
vadhita vadhisaṭi cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 geveyā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyanti saṃpaṭipādayamti cha alaṃ chapalam
samādapayitave (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena
gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चसुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पस्सिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदस्सिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
- 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चित्तंथितीका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं ककती ति
- 1 (A) Devānarhpiyo Piyadasī lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhū kiyaṃ chu
dhamme ti (C) apasinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-
dāne pi me

- 2 bahuvidhe dīṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
 3 (G) eṭāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī ti

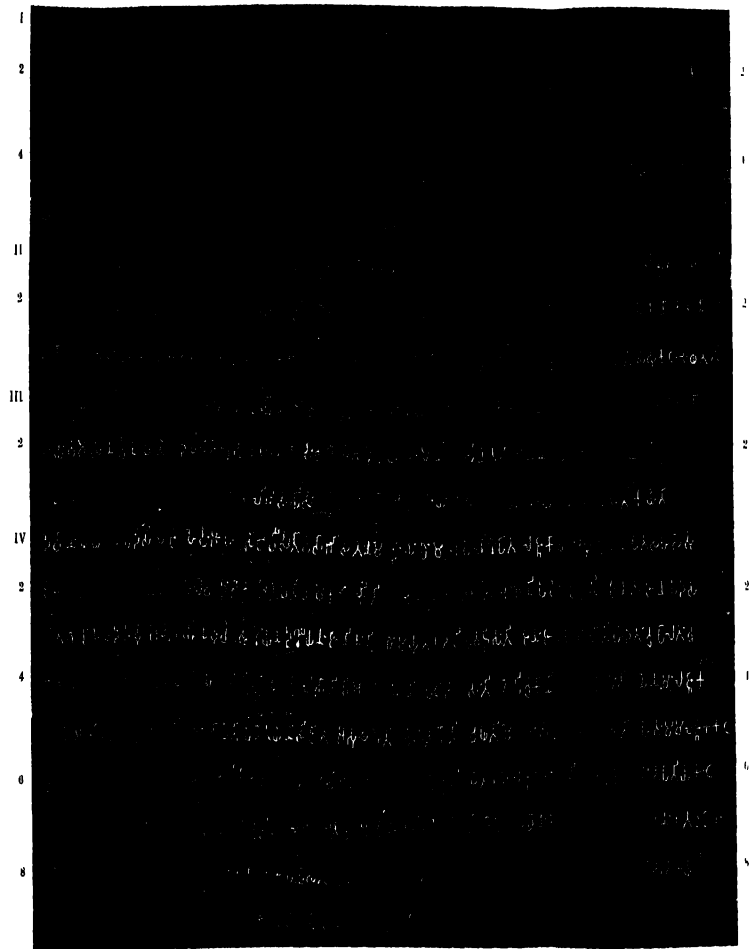
THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये
 3 कोपे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

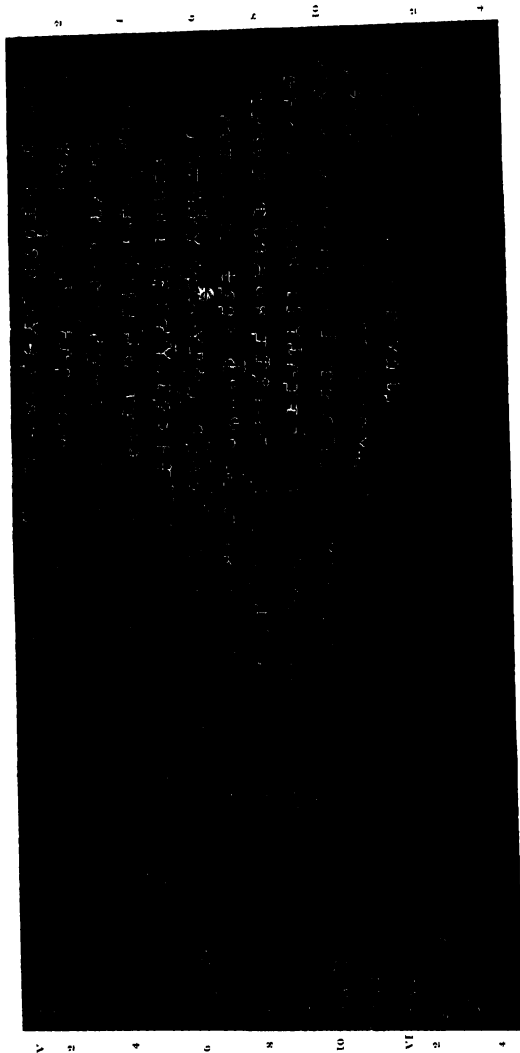
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhaṃti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhaṃti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bādhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसिनेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
 2 जनसि आयात (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दहे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लज्जूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
 4 आलाभयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुत्तिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूक
 5 चरंति आलाभयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं विवताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चपति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लज्जूक कट
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जूकानं अभिहाले व दहे व अतपतिये कटे
 7 (K) इच्छितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंशसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति वंधनवधानं मुनिसामं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं







Scale One-sixth

- 8 तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरुपयिसन्ति जीवित्तये
तानं नासन्तं व निरुपयितये दानं दाहन्ति पालत्तिकं उपवासं व कद्धन्ति
9 (N) इहा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च बहन्ति विविधे धमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisiṭṭena me
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūka me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale¹ va damde va ata-patiye me kate kinti lajūka
asvatha abhita kammāni pavatayeṇū ti janasa jānapadasa
3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahincvu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhīyanam jānisamti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kinti hidatam cha
pālataṃ cha
4 alādhayeṇū ti (F) lajūka pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
chhamdam² āni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam
lajūka
5 chaghamti alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti
viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihāṭṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kata
6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā santam avimana kammāni
pavatayeṇū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihale va damde va ata-patiye kate
7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa k[m]ti⁴ viyohāla-samatā cha siya damda-samata cha (L) āvi
ite pi cha me āvuti baddhana-baddhānam munisaṇam ulita-damdanam
pata-vadhānam
8 timni divasāni me [y]ote dimne (M) nātika va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tanam
nasamtaṃ va nijhapayitave dānam lāhamti pālataṃ upavāsam va kachhamti
9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ alādhayeṇū ti (O) janasa cha
valhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अयध्यानि कटानि सेयथ
2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्काके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि
अनटिकमळे वेदवेयके
3 गंगापुपुटके संजुजमळे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एठका च सुकली च गभिनी व

¹ Read *abhihāl*.² *lita* Buhler

- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरुपयिसंति जीविताये
तानं नासंतं व निरुपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति
9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुपसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च वदति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisiṭṭena me
iyam dhamma-lipi lakkhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pana-sata-saha-¹esu
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale² va damde va ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūka
asvatha abhita kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanam jānisamti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janam janapadam kimti hidatam cha
pālatam cha
4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
chhamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kām viyovadisanti yena mam
lajūka
5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti
viyata dhātu chaghatu me pajam sukham palihatave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kata
6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā samtam avimāna kammāni
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihale va damde va ata-patiye kate
7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti³ viyohāla-samata cha siya damda-samata cha (L) aya
ite pi cha me āvuti baddhana-baddhānam munisānam ulita-damdanam
pata-vaddhānam
8 tinnī divasani me [y]ote diṃne (M) natika v kāni nijhapayisanti jivitāye tanam
nāsantam va nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavasam va kachhamti
9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kalasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. RAMPURVA

B—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसिंतेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अजय्यानि कटानि सेयथ
2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्काके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि
अनटिकमळे वेदवेयके
3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एठका च सूकली च गर्भिनी व

¹ Read *abhihale*.² *kita* Buhler

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्रं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनइसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसचं महे अवध्ये नो
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो
हंतवियानि (J) अरुमिपक्काये चावुदसाये
- 9 पंनइसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये
अजके एठके सुकाले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नोलखियति नो नोलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासिपक्काये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये
पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāthpiya Piyadasa lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me
imani pī jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālīka alune chakavāke haṃse namdimukhe gelaṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duli
anathika-machhe vcdaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-puṇṇake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale samdake
okapimule palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gama-kapote sava chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyaṭi (C) ajakā nāni
elakā cha sūkali cha gabhinī va
- 5 piyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye
(E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anathāye va vihiṣāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
(H) tīsu chātummāsīsīsu tisyāṃ pumnamāsīyam
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnadasaṃ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposatham
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevata-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni
(J) athami-pakhaye chāvudasaṃ
- 9 paṃnadasāye tisāye puṇāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsīsu sudivasāye gone no
nilakhitaviye ajake clake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nilakhiyaṭi no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṇāvasune chātummāsīye
chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye
paṃnavisati bāndhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितमुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवडि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नात्तिमु हेवं पत्थासंसेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवन्निकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए च्चु इयं
- 4 अतन पच्चपगमने से मे मोख्यसुते (G) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja* hevaṃ āha (B) *duvādasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahata*
- 2 *tam tam dhamma-vadhi pāpova* (C) *hevaṃ lok[ā]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nāttisū hevaṃ patyāsamesu hevaṃ apakathesu kimmam kani*
- 3 *sukham āvahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi* (D) *hemeva sava-ñ[ī]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi* (E) *sava-pāsamlā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya* (F) *e chu iyaṃ*
- 4 *atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute* (G) *saduvīsati[ī]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita*

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अतत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस च्चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेक्षा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडिता वडिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्ता च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja* hevaṃ āha (B) *saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā* (C) *hidata-pālate dusaṃpati[ī]pāda[y]e*
- 2 *amhata agāya dhamma-kāmataya agāya palikhāya agaya sususāya agena bhayena* *a[g]jēna usāhena* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathī[y]ā*

- 3 dhammāpekḥā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyamti sampatipādayamti cha
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hēmmeva¹ amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
yā [i]yam dhammena pālānā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhījanā
dhammena [gut]i [ti² cha]³

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदस्सिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अताये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलढितिका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsīnave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne
pi me
2 bahuvīdhe diṇne (E) dupada-chatupadesu⁴ pakhi-vālichalesu vivīdhe me anugāhe
kaṭe ā pāna-dakkhināye (F) aṇṇāni pi cha me bahūni⁵ kayānāni kaṭṭhāni
3 (G) etāye me athāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupatipajamtu chila-
thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukaṭam kachchati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति

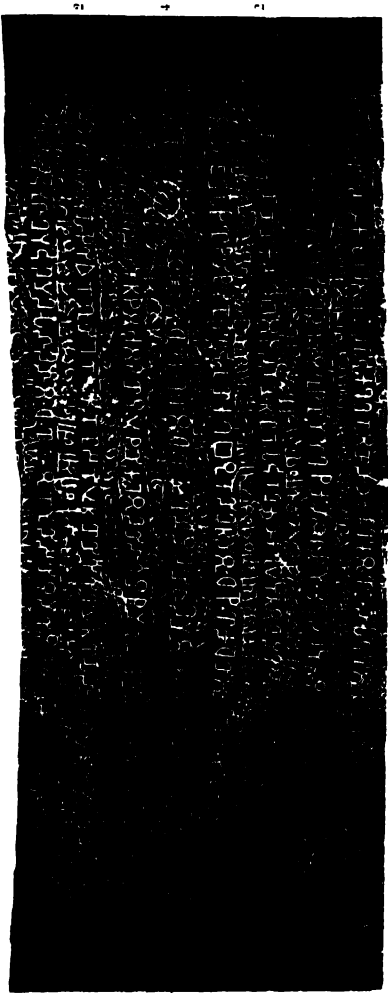
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me
kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ va
āsīnave nāmā ti

¹ hēmmeva Buhler

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.
chu Buhler

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada*- is probably accidental.

⁵ bahūni Buhler.



9. UPENDRAN

I 2 4 II 2 III

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छित्तविये हि
 एस किंति
 2 लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति
 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
 3 (M) का व कानि निरूपयिंसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निरूपयिता
 दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा क्खंति
 4 (N) हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च
 वडति विविधे धमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-paṭṭi] [i]y[ē kaṭṭe] (K) [i]cch[hi] [i] [a]v[ā]y[ā] [i] h[ā] e[s] [a] k[ā]m[ā]t[i]¹
 2 la-sama[ṭṭ]a cha² siyā da[m]ḍa-samata cha (L) āva ite pi cha me avuṭṭi
 bandhana-baddhānam munisānam tilita-dandānam pata-vadhānam tinnī divasāni
 yote dinnē
 3 (M) [k]ā vā kāni nīḥapayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nasantā vā nīḥapayitā dānaṃ
 dāhamti palatikaṃ upavāsā vā [ka]cchha[m]ti
 4 (N) . [h]i me hevaṃ nīludhasi pi kālasī palatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha
 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dana savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे
 इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयष सुके सालिका अलुने चक्काके
 2 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अवाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफट के पनससे सिमले संड ..
 3 तक्पोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो
 ना पायमी ..
 4 सजीवे नो भ्राप
 5 नि चाबुदसं पंचद
 6 नि
 7
 8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या

¹ Buhler omitted this line.

² chā Buhler

a, a Buhler

- 1 (A) [p]iye Piyadaaī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhāsitaṃ me
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīkā alune chaka[v]āke
2 [namdī]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]¹ ambā-kipilikā dudi² anathika-machhe³
vrdaveyake Gamgā-p[u]p[u]take saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa k[e] p[ā]mna-
sase simale samḍa . .
3 [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogam [no]
. nā [p]ā[ya]mī . .
4 sajive no jhā[pa]
5 [n]i chā[v]u[da]sam [pa]mcha[da]
6 [n]i
7
8 [lakha]n[e no kataviye] (L) [y]ā

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी ला तं हि पा
(C) हेवं लोकस
2 हितसुखे ति पटिवेस्सामि अथ इयं वं पत्थासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु
किमं कानि विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव कायेसु
पटिवेस्सामि
3 (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति

- 1 (A) [p]iye [P]iyada[s]i l[ā] t[arṃ] [dh]i [pā] . .
(C) heva[m] lokasa
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekḥāmi atha [iya]m [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su] heva[m]
apaka[th]e[su] kimaṃ [k]ā[ni] [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṃmeva [sa]va
. [k]āyesu paṭivekḥāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]āyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atana
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipi⁴ likhāpitā ti

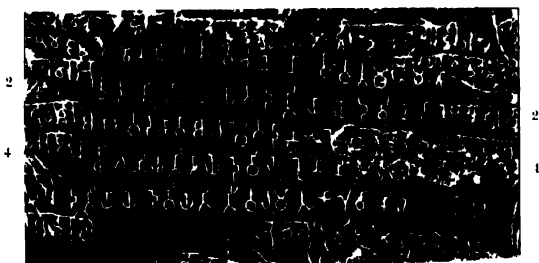
B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपियया वचनेना सवत्त महमत्ता
2 वत्तविया (B) ए हेता दुत्तियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंबावडिक्का वा जालमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अने
4 कीळि गनीयति ताये देविये वे नानि (C) हेवं न . . .
5 दुत्तियाये देविये ति तीवलमाहु कालुवाकिये

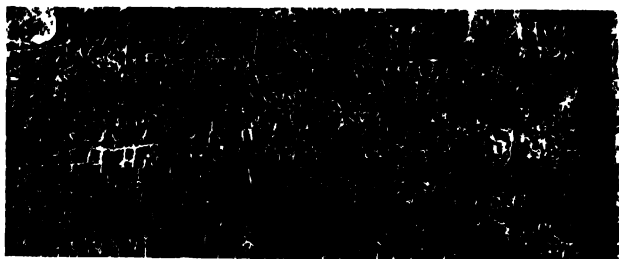
¹ jatūke Bühler.² dadī Bühler.³ anathika- Bühler.⁴ lipsi Bühler.



QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) **Devānāṃpiyaśā** v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā¹
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā² dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 aṃbā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[ga]h[e] [va]³ e vā pi a]mne
- 4 kichhi ganiyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vam . [na] . .⁴
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti **Tivala**-mātu **Kāluvākiye**

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dōvānāṃpriya**, the *Mahāmātrās* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango groves,⁵ or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these⁶ (shall) be registered⁷ (in the name) of that queen

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of **Tivala**,⁸ the **Kāluvāki**.⁹

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रिये अनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
- 2 समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 संघं भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा से पि चा
- 4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ*]p]iye ānapayati (B) **Kosambiyān**¹⁰ mahām[ā]tā¹¹
- 2 [sa]ma[ḡc ka]t[ic] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no¹² l[ā]hiye¹³
- 3 [saṃghaṃ bhā]khati¹⁴ bhikh[u] v[ā]¹⁵ bhikh[ū]ni¹⁶ vā [se pi] cha
- 4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni¹⁷ duśāni [sa]nāndhāpayitu a[nava]sa[ḡ]v[ā]v[ā]saiyit[ic]¹⁸

¹ *mahāmātā* Senart and Bühler.

² *hetā* Senart and Bühler.

³ *vā* Bühler.

⁴ Restore perhaps *ṛnati* (= Skt *vijāpiti*), see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

⁷ With *ganiyati* cf. *gāna* or *gānā* in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kūsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 293. and EI, 7. 103.

⁹ As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtā* of the Kārus.

¹⁰ *ōḡya* Bühler and Boyer.

¹¹ *mahāmātā* Bühler and Boyer

¹² *nā* Bühler and Boyer.

¹³ *chi ye* Bühler.

¹⁴ *bhikhati* Bühler and Boyer

¹⁵ *vā* Bühler.

¹⁶ *bhi[khu]ni* Bühler.

¹⁷ [p]a]kha Boyer, Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

¹⁸ The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 127.

¹⁹ *ana[p]sa* Bühler, *ānāvāsai* Boyer

²⁰ *avā* Boyer

TRANSLATION

(A) [Dēvānāth]priya commands (thus).

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī¹

(C) is made united.²

(D) should not be received³ into the *Samgha*.

(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,⁴ should be caused to put on white robes⁵ and to reside⁶ in a non-residence.⁷

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

२ . . या भेत . . (C) . . चे मगे कटे

३ भिक्षुनं च भिक्षुनीनं चा ति पुतप-

४ पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं

५ भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा औदाता-

६ नि दुस्तानि सनंभापयितु अनावा-

७ ससि वासापेतविये (E) इद्धा हि मे किं-

८ ति संघे समगे चिलचित्तिके सिया ति

१

२ . [y]ā⁸ bhe[ta] . . (C) . . [gh]e¹⁰ mage¹¹ kate

३ [bhi*]khūna[ra] cha¹² bhi[khun]nam ch[ā]¹³ ti [p]uta-pa-

¹ This ancient city (*Kaśāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kosam, see Fleet's *Gupta Insers*, p. 2, and EI, II, 141.

² Cf. the Sāmchi pillar, C.

³ *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sāmāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10, 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

⁴ Venus (JPASB, 3, 3) has identified *bhākhats* with Skt. *bhāṅks'ya*.

⁵ Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Viṃśaya-pitaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaṇḍama* (4th ed., 2, 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvamsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

⁶ *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsaya*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Snart (CR, 1907, 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

⁷ i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venus (JPASB, 3, 3) quoted Buddhaghōṣa's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17, 388, n. 1.

⁸ *y[am]* Buhler.

⁹ *bhe[ta]* Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sāmāth pillar, l. 3.

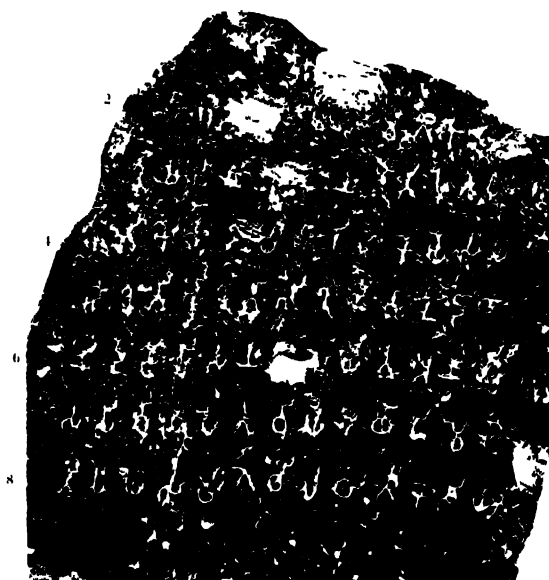
¹⁰ The syllable *ghe* is almost certain, restore *saṃghe*.

¹¹ Restore *saṃage*, as in l. 8.

¹² [rā] Buhler.

¹³ [rā] Buhler, *cha* Boyer

SAMICHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



- 4 [po*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]n[ī]ke¹ (D) ye saṁgham
 5 bh[ā]khatī² bhikkhu³ vā bhikkhuni vā odatā-
 6 ni du[ān]jī sanam[dhāpay]tu anā[vā]-
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kim-
 8 ti saṁghe samage⁴ chila-thūṭike sīyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A)

(B) [cannot] be divided.⁵

(C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine) "

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes an ' to reside in a non-residence "

(E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united⁶ (and) of long duration

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1 (A) देवा

2 ए ल

3 पाट ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चं खो

4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भासति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनधापयिष्या
 आनावाससि

5 आवासयिष्ये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-
 पयितविष्ये

6 (F) हेवं देवानपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुष्कांतिकं हुवाति
 संसलनसि निस्सिता

7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निस्सिपाय (H) ते पि च उपासका
 अनुपोसथं यावु

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसपाये

¹ See JRAS, 1911 167 f

² *bhokhatī* Buhki and Boyer

³ *bhikkhū* Boyer

⁴ *saṁghasa mace* Buhler and Boyer, see JRAS, 1911. 168

⁵ Cf the Sārnāth pillar, C

⁶ Cf *putā-papoti* *chandama-sulyike* *hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l 31 Other instances of the Pāli affix *-ika* are *vadhamika* and *vejayika* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kondamudi plates. See EI, I 6, text l 9. 6. 87, text l 5 f, 6 317, text l 8 f

⁷ With this section cf above, p. 160, n 4, 5, 7

⁸ Cf. *samaggo* is *saṁgho* . *phāsū viharati* in the *Pāṭimokkha*, JRAS, 1876 75, § 10., *sukha saṁghassa sāmaggi samaggānāni tapo sukha* in the *Dhammapada*, vers. 194, *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna tadakkāsi uposatham* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुपाकं
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाच तुफे एतेन विर्यजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 विर्यजनेन विवासापयाचा
- 1 (A) Devā¹
- 2 c l
- 3 Pāṭa² ye³ kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e chum kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṅghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i]⁴ s[c] odātāni dus[ān]i
[sa]mnamdhāpayiā ānāvāsasi⁵
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasi cha bhikhuni-saṅghasi cha
vimnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṃ Devānāmpīye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipi tupaḥamantikam huvāti
samsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikam cha lipim hedisameva upāsakanamtikam nikipāṭha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
anuposatham yāvu
- 8 ctameva sāsanam visvaṃsayitave anuposatham cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmat
posathāye
- 9 yāti ctameva sāsanam visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkam
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayaṭha tupaḥ ctana viyaṃjanena (J) hemeva savesu kota-viṣhavesu⁶
ctena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāsapaṭhā

TRANSLATION

(A) Devā[nāmpriya]

(B) Pāṭa[liputra]⁷

(C) the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.⁸

(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be caused to put on⁹ white robes and to reside¹⁰ in a non-residence.¹¹

¹ These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānāmpriya*.

² These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pātaliputra*.

³ Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikkhāt*, and Boyer *bhokhāt*.

⁵ The Sāmchi and Kauśāmbī edicts read *ānāvāsasi*.

⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *cha*.

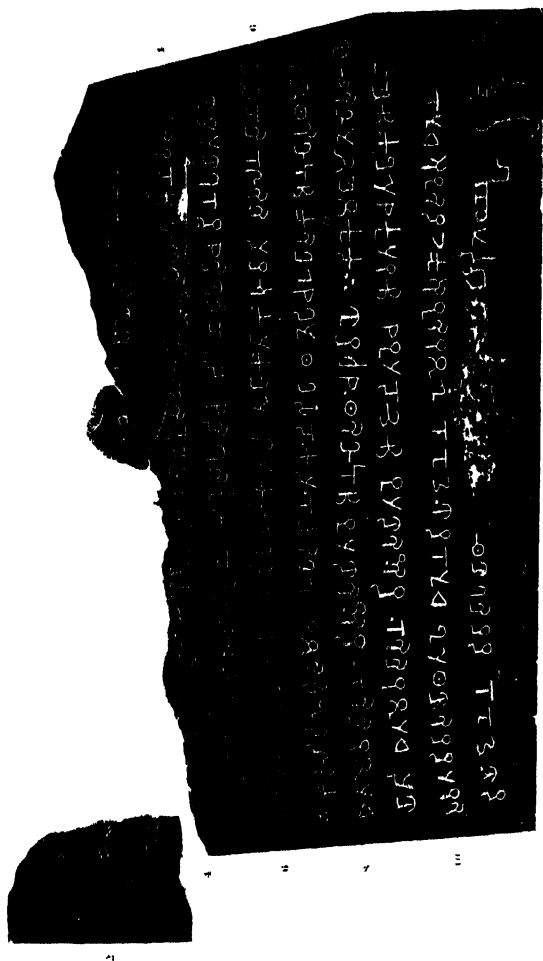
⁷ This is the ancient name of the city of Patnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Guṇār edict V, M. The Sāmchi edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātrā* at Pātaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātrā* at Kauśāmbī.

⁸ With *saṅghe bhetave* cf. *saṅgham bhudati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhudati*; *saṅgham bhudatvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6. *saṃgassa saṃghava bhudaya* in the *Pāṭimokkha*, JRAS, 1876, 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhundim* in the *Dīpaṃsa*, VII, 54.

⁹ [va]mnamdhāpayiā, instead of which the Sāmchi and Kauśāmbī edicts read *samamdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saināhika*, cf. Senart, CR, 1907, 28.

¹⁰ For *āvātayīye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, p. 160, n. 7.



(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Saṅgha* of monks and to the *Saṅgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks **Dēvānāmpriya** :

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)¹ remain² with you³ deposited⁴ in (your) office,⁵ and⁶ deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)⁷ in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict,⁸ and invariably on every fast-day,⁹ every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it)¹⁰

(I) And as far as your district¹¹ (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)¹² everywhere according to the letter of this (edict)¹³

¹ Literally 'one writing of this description'

² Senart (C.R. 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (B.I. 8. 170), *tuphākamtikaṃ* stands for *tuphākam antikaṃ*, and *upāsakanāntikaṃ* in l. 7 for *upāsakanāntikaṃ* Cf. E. Muller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *m-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Rāghavaśaṣṭi*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikhēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *nikkhitta-vannam* in the *Sākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhita* is placed after *samvatanast*, and *nikhēpitha* in the next sentence after *upāsakanāntikaṃ*, it is more natural to take *m-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (C.R. 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *samsalana* (= Skt. *samśarana*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (C.R. 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *haddisa cha ikā lpi* and *ikam cha lpiṃ haddisaveva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposatham* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

⁷ In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upāvasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Bohtlingk's two dictionaries, s.v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

⁸ With *vivassajoyate* cf. *avāsā* [n]jā in the Jaugada separate edict II, section J.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to II do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnath and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pataliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pataliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pataliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *ahāra*, 'a district', see B.I. 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākam āhāla* are contrasted with *savveṇa kōla-vishāreva* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Liders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (EI, 10, Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *avāsati* is *vappavāsati*, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. The verb *vivāsayati* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivassapayati* in section J a double causative, of *avāsati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivassapayati* by 'making known', but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivassatvayati* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauli, Z-CC., Jaugada, AA. DD.), viz. *mahāmātram*.

¹³ Literally, 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjanam* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.¹

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पिबदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिहितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्कमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगढभी चा कालापित सिलाचभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंमिनिगामे उवलिके वटे
- 5 अठभागिये च
- 1 (A) Devāna(pī)yaṇa Piyadasina lājina visati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sakkyamuni ti
- 3 (B) silā viḡaḡabhi chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte
- 4 hida Bhagavañ jāte ti (C) Lurhmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha *Sākyamuni* was born here.²

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)³ and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.⁴

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*), see Childers, *Pālī Dictionary*, s. v. *vyāñjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pālī sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67, 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907, 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentals *etena* *vyāñjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

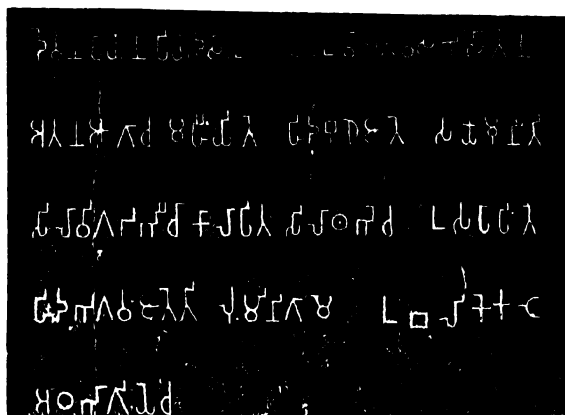
¹ This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

² In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876, 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said 'āgamissanti kha Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhunīyo upāsaka-upāsikīyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908, 486) joined them to B.

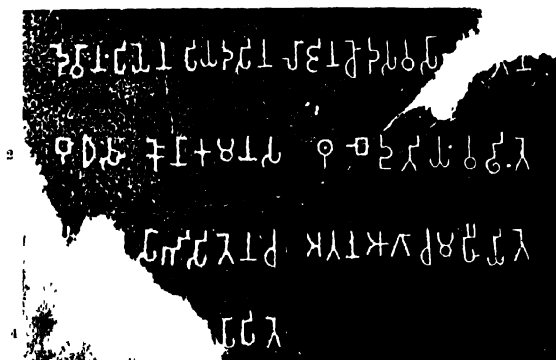
³ This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *viḡaḡabhi*, see IA, 43, 19 f. The syllable *-bhi* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhṛt*; but, that *viḡada* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20, 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908, 477, 823) joined *bhichā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *viḡada* is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-viḡada bhichā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43, 17) remarks, the change of **bhittikā* to *bhichā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects'.

⁴ With the words *hida Bhagavañ jāte* cf. *Dnyāvadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavañ jātak.'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



(C) (He) made the village of Lumbini¹ free of taxes,² and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce)³

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन

2 बुधस कोनाकमनस घुवे दुतियं वदिते

3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 पापिते

1 (A) Devānāmpriyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bb]i[si]t[e]n[a]

2 Budhassa Kōṇākamanassa thube dutiyam vadhite

3 (B) . . . sābhisitena⁴ cha atana āgācha mahīyite

4 pāpīte⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōṇākamana⁶ to the double (of its original size).⁷

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

¹ In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lumbini survives in the modern designation Rummindēi, see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

² For *ubalika* = Skt. **udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2, Buhler, EI, 5. 5, Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f., Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f., and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kautilya*.

³ The *Dīpāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold piece). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Buhler (I. 1. 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *atha* = Skt. *an tha* and translated *atha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *atha-bhāga* by Skt. *ashta-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Antiliya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-paucha bhāgiya* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lumbini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

⁴ Buhler restored *ṛṣati-vaṣābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

⁵ Buhler restored *silā-thabbu cha upapāpīte* on the strength of l. 13 of the same inscription.

⁶ This mythical Buddha is called Kōṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Kōṇāgamena* at Bharhut, IA, 21. 229, No. 3c), and Kanakamuni or Kōṇakamuni by the Northern ones, cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

⁷ With *dutiyam vadhite* cf. *diyadhiyam vadhisati* (or *vadhisati*) at Sāhasvām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंमिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं
सय उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुद्विपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरदितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलधियेना दियदिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत
(K) हध च अयि
- 5 सालाठमे सिलाठमसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) अ्युतेना सावने कटे (N) २००
५० ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānarūpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni¹ aḍhati[y]āni va² ya sumi
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātileke chu ohhavaohhare⁴
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bāḍhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) yā⁶ [i]māya kālaya Jambudīpasi amisa devā husu te dani
m[i]p[ā] katā (F) pakamasi⁷ hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatata i[ā]potave
khudakena⁸

¹ sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler, read *sātirekāni*.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Banāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddhāpura rock-inscriptions.

³ The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā*; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *haka*, i. e. *hakam*) [savu]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads *Bu[dha]-Sake*.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare*, see IA, 37 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

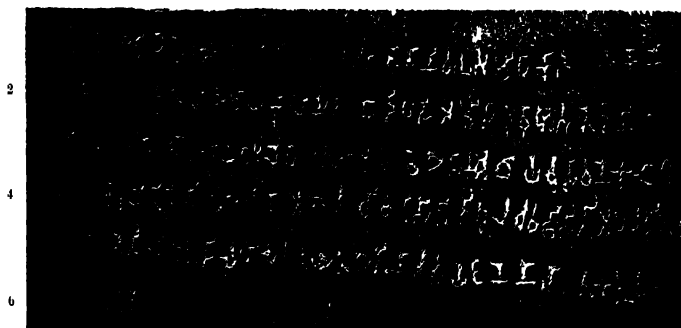
⁵ chu Bühler.

⁶ y[ī] Bühler.

⁷ Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[kə]mam[i]nenā¹ sakiye pipule² pā³ svagr ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya athāya cha
sāvane kate kh[u]lakā cha udālā cha pakamatu⁵ ti ata pi cha janantu iya⁶
paka[rā⁷ va]
- 4 kiti chira-thituke siyā (I) iya hī aphe vadhi vadhisiti vipula cha vadhisiti apaladhiyena
diyadhiya vadhisata⁸ (J) iya cha athe pavati[u] lekhpeta vāleta (K) hadha⁹
cha athi
- 5 silā-ṭh[abh]e¹⁰ silā-tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya¹¹ ta¹² (L) etinā cha vayanena
yāvataka tupaka¹³ ahāle savara¹⁴ vivaseta[vā]ya¹⁵ ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane
kate (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta¹⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus

(B) Two and a half years¹⁷ and somewhat more (have passed) since I am
openly a *Śākya*.¹⁸

(C) But (I had)¹⁹ not been very zealous.²⁰

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited²¹ the
*Sanigḥa*²² and have been very zealous

¹ *parumaminena* Buhler

² Read *pipule*

³ Read *pā*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

⁴ *ārodhave* Buhler; read *ārodhe[ta⁷ve]*.

⁵ *pakamantu* Senart and Buhler

⁶ *iyam* Senart and Buhler

⁷ Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Siddhāpura and Sahasām rock-inscriptions

⁸ Read *vadhisati*.

⁹ Buhler and Senart correct *hadha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= *skt yatra*), but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained

¹⁰ Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler; -*ṭhubb* Buhler

¹¹ Read *lakhā*²

¹² Read *ti*.

¹³ Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the Sānāth pillar, l. 9

¹⁴ Read *savata*, as on the Sānāth pillar, l. 10

¹⁵ *evya* Senart, *evā[ya]* Buhler, read *vivaseta[ve]* and cf. *vivāsayaṭha* at Sanāth, l. 10

¹⁶ Read *ti*.

¹⁷ As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Tinaya pitaka*, Introduction, p. xxviii, note and ZDMG, 35 474, note), *adhattiya* is the Pali *adhattiya*, 'two and a half'

¹⁸ Instead of this, the Sahasām, Banāt, and Siddhāpura versions read *upāsaka*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[ḍha]-Sake*. On the Rummindī pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śakya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist', see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. In the *Kaṭṭhiya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning, see Shama Sastry's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me the Munich MS. reads *प्रकाशवर्वादीन्*, which is meant for *प्रकाशवर्वादीन्*, the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *प्रकाशवर्वादीन्*

¹⁹ The word *ksam* is entered in the Mysore versions

²⁰ The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasām and Banāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *pala kamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous', see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[kə]mam[i]nenā* (Rupnath) or *parumaminena* (Sahasām) corresponds to *dhama-yuṭ[ta]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, l. 1

²¹ Buhler translated *ap[le]te* by 'entered', see IA, 6, 156, and II, 3, 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition, see IA, 27 234

²² i.e. the Buddhist clergy

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)¹ in Jambudvīpa,² have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).³

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank⁴ (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter⁸ will (be made by me to) progress,⁹ and will (be made to) progress considerably, it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.¹⁰

¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*, but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānāmpriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911, 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Buhler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *miśhā*, which is represented by *misā* in Pali, in Ardhamaṅgaladhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misān-deva* and *amimisaṇ-deva* at Sāhasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamaṅgaladhī form *misān*.—it would create two serious difficulties (1) the compound *miśhātāt* at Maski would offend against the *Yatitka* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devaḥ*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by '*ont été réduits à apparaître comme*' *faussement* (*mis au nombre des devx*), and to consider the instrumental *devaḥ* an ablative partitive (?).

² i.e. in India.

³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913, 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *devayāni* *ūpāni* in the Girār edict IV, B.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatata* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya athāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

⁷ According to the Kāśi and Shāhbāgarhi rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda. see section J.

⁹ With *vadhū* [in*] *vadhūsi* cf. *dharmā-vadhū vadhūsi* in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter¹ to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.²

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,³ it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.⁴

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)⁵ (you) must dispatch (an officer)⁶ everywhere, as far as your district⁷ (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.⁸

(N) 256 (nights)⁹ (had then been) spent on tour.¹⁰

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानापिये हेवं आ ियानि सवळलानि । अं उपासके
सुनि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकते
2 (D) सवळले साधिके । अं ने (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपति ।
अमिसंदेवा । संत

¹ Instead of the nominative *ya cha athe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha atham*, as at Sahasrām, I 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekḥāpetavye ti* for *lekḥāpeta vālati*, but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

² Literally 'in consequence of an occasion' (*anātaḥ*), see JRAS, 1911 1116

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. the Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII SS

⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13

⁶ See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911, 1106) translated *vivasati* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict, see JRAS, 1912 1053 ff

⁷ Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūtha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15 512 ff. The instrumental *vyūthitena*, which depends on *śivane katr*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*upaka*, I 5); see JRAS, 1909 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37 22) in supplying *mayā*.

⁹ The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15, 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911, 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910 1301 ff., 1911, 1091 ff., and 1913, 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 119 ff.), D. R. Bhundarkar (IA, 41, 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22, 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916, 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kāśī, VIII, F.

¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910, 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vyūthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसदेव कटा । (F) पल इयं फले (G) नो यं
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुखग .. किये जाला वे । (H) से एतावे
छठावे इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकने होतु । (I) इयं च छठे
वडिसति । विपुलं पि च वडिसति
- 6 दियाडियं अवालधियेना दियाडियं वडिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च छठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..
वा अ-
- 8 पि हेता सिलाचंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye he[vaṃ] [ā]¹ [iyāni savaohalā]ni | a]m
upāsake sumi | (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[te]
2 (D) sav[a]johale² sādhi[ke] [i am] [te] (E) [cte][na cha aṃta]]ena |
Jambudīpasi | ammisam-[de]vā³ | samta⁴
3 munisā [m]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [iyam phale (G) [n]u]] . . .
[[yam] mahatatā va chakiye pāv[a]t[ā]ve | khudakena pi pal-
4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]g . . . [k]ye⁵ [ā][lā] [ve]] [i] (H) sc etāye
ath[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne⁶ | khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
5 [la]kamamtu amta pi ch[a] jānamtu | chila-ṭhīt[ke] | cha p[a][ā]kame⁷ hotu | (I)
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vaḍhisati | vipulam pi cha vaḍhisati
6 diyādhīyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyam vaḍhisati | (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapaṇnā lāti-
7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [I][ikhā]pa]yātha (M)
ya . .⁸ [vā] a-
8 th[i] heta silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi¹⁰ [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

² The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vi* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *dva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910 147), it is already impossible because the *da* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *sadvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhale* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read *amissai-*.

⁴ *sam[tā]* Bühler.

⁵ Restore *suage chakiye*.

⁶ Read *sāvane*.

⁷ *-[t]ṭh*. Bühler.

⁸ Restore *yata*.

⁹ *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.



FROM AIR BLG LAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTANIPAGE

SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 7 अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिल्लित लं पि वडिसति
 8 दियदियं वडिसति
 1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) a[ā]ti
 2 vāsān[ī] ya hakaṁ¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādhaṁ
 3 aṁ mamayā saghe² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha
 4 Jambudīpasi³ amisā⁴ na devehi [m]i [ka]masa csa ... [e]
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]c ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādhetā[v]e (H) kā cha [u]l[ā]ā chā⁵
 [pala]kamatu [t]
 7 [aṁ]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]īla-ṭhit laṁ pi vaḍhisati
 8 diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhi[s]ti

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावापतं च फासु-
 विहालतं चा
 2 (B) विदिते वे भते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च
 (C) ए केचि भंते
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
 हेचं संधंने
 4 चिल्लित्तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-
 पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से
 5 अलियवसाणि अनगतभयानि सुनिगाषा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा
 लाघुलो-
 6 वादे सुसावादं अपिगिष्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि
 इहामि
 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनेयु चा उपपालयेयू चा
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि
 अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतु ति

- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]¹ l[ā]jā Māgadho² saṁghaṁ abhivāde[tū]naṁ³ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam
 cha phāsu-vihālatam chā
 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṁte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṁghasi ti gālave⁴
 chaṁ prasāde⁵ cha (C) e kechi⁶ bhaṁte

¹ haka Bühler.² sa[m]ghe Bühler.³ dipasi Bühler.⁴ The syllable *ms* was entered above the line.⁵ cha Bühler.⁶ Piya⁷ Senart.⁷ Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anuvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.⁸ abhivādanam Senart; but see J.R.A.S. 1909. 727.⁹ galave Senart.¹⁰ pasāde Senart.¹¹ kechi Senart.

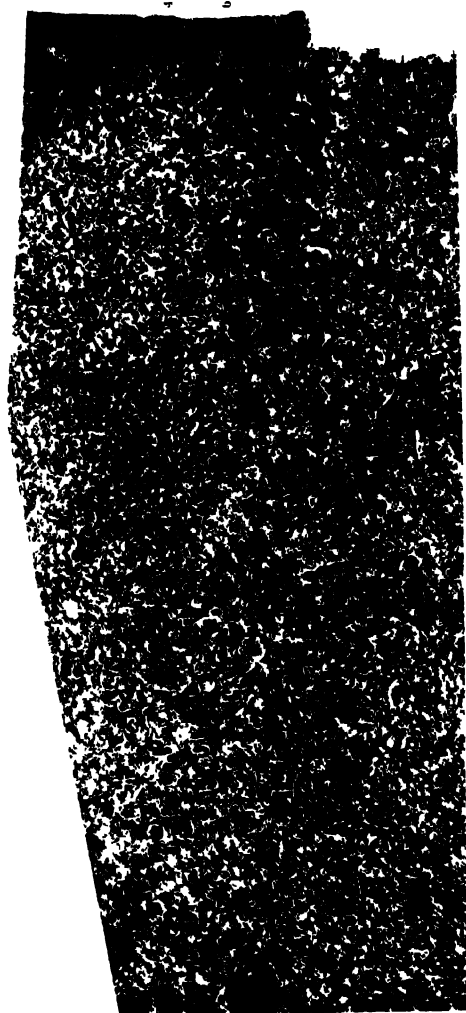
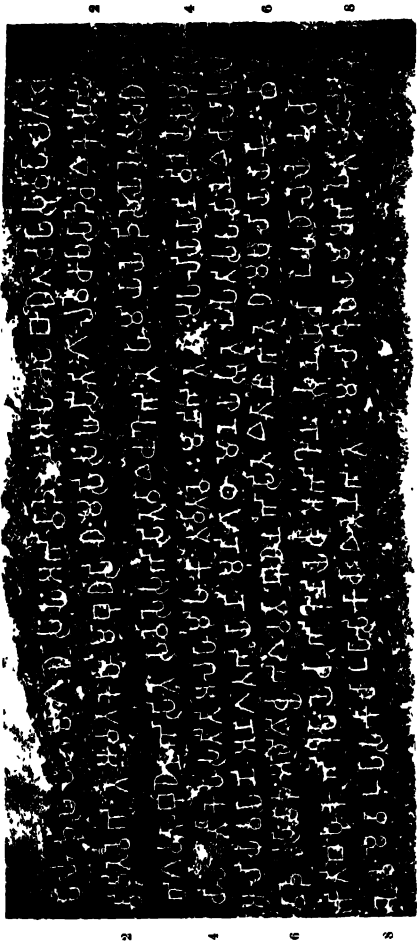


PLATE NO. 172



SCALONI-FOURTH

- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve¹ se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhamte
hamiyāye discyā hevañ sadhamme
4 chil[a-ṭhi]ṭike hosatī ti alahāmi hakañ ta[rh] v[ā]tave² (E) imāni bhamte[^e dha]mma-
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase
5 Aliya-vasāñi³ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatissa-pasine e chā
Lāghulo-
6 vāde musā-vādañ adhigichya⁴ bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhasīte etāni⁵ bhamte
dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi
7 kimti bahu⁶ e bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye⁷ ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu⁸ chā
upadhā[a]leyeṭṭu⁹ chā
8 (F) hevañmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni¹⁰ bhamte imam likhā[pa]lyāmi
abhipretam¹¹ me jānamtū¹² ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The *Māgadha* king *Priyadarśin*,¹³ having saluted the *Saṅgha*,¹⁴ hopes they are both well and comfortable.¹⁵

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the *Buddha*, the *Dharma*,¹⁶ (and) the *Saṅgha*.¹⁷

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed *Buddha*, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me¹⁸ (to be referred to by the words of the scripture) 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration',¹⁹ that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the *Dharma*, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the *Vinaya-samukasa*, (2) the *Aliya-vasa*,²⁰ (3) the *Anāgata-bhaya*, (4) the *Muni-gāthā*, (5) the *Moneya sūta*,

¹ sarve Senart.

² vatave Senart

³ -vasāni Senart.

⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f) is impossible.

⁵ etāna Senart.

⁶ bhikkhuniye Senart.

⁷ sunayn Senart

⁸ upādhalleyeyu Senart.

⁹ Read etenā.

¹⁰ abhipretam Senart, but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r* (cf *aparakaranamhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3).

¹¹ ma jānamitā Senart

¹² Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniya Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-pitaka* (passim), *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875. 49), and *rājā Pasenajj Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

¹³ i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

¹⁴ Literally, 'pronounced both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* 'appābhūham appatankam lakutthānāni balāni phāsū-vihāraṇi pucchha', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2. 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2. 216, n. 3).

¹⁵ i.e. the Buddhist doctrine

¹⁶ These are the so-called 'three jewels', see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *ratanam*

¹⁷ Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained *discyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīyati*, cf JRAS, 1909. 728.

¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁹ *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vanisa*, see IA, 41. 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,¹—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोक्स ऋद्धति-
- 2 .. नि ववानि । अं सुमि बुधश्चे (C) तिरे
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 सि ये ऋमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दक्षितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगच्छेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके सेअ तिक्के च वडि-
- 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[a]na[ra]piyasa Asok[a]sa^a [a]dha[ra]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni^a vashā[ni] | am^a sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake^a (C) [t]ire
- 3 .. [m]i^a [s]aṅgha[ra] u[pa]gate [uṭh] m[i] u[pa]gate^a (D) pure Jambhu-
- 4 a[ra] ye amisa deva husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūta (E) iya a[ra]the khu[da]-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-pitaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, II. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kozambi (JA, 41. 40), Nos 2 and 3 occur in the *Anguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

^a Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiḥkāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiḥkāni*.

^a Restore *adhātayāni*.

^a *vasāni* [ya]m am Krishna Sastri.

^a *bun[pa]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bālrāt, and Śiddhāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[ṣ]e at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

^a Restore *sāttreke am sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *sarivachhara*.

^a Restore perhaps *utthānāni cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bādham cha me pakāṣite*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bādham cha sumi upagate*.

^a Restore *Jambūdpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



SCUT ONE-FIFTY

- 5 ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevañ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
 7 viyā hevañ ve kalañtañ bha[dak]e [se a]² t[i]k[e]³ cha va[dhi]-
 8 sūti chā diya[dhi]yañ he[vam] ti⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvañāñhpriya Aśoka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sātya*.⁵

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.⁶

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीति अयपुतस महामातायं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं सके (D) नो तु खो वाढं
 प्रक्ते हुसं एकं सबद्धरे (E) सातिरेके तु खो संबद्धरे
 3 यं मया संघे उपसीति वाढं च मे प्रक्ते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना
 मुनिता जंबुदीपसि
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पक्कमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सत्थे महाप्पेनेव पापोतवे
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
 5 पक्कमि . . खेण विपुले स्वगे सत्थे आराधेतवे (I) एतावढाय इयं सावखे
 सावापिते
 6 महाप्पा च इमं पक्कमेयु ति अंता च मे जानेयु चिरटितीके
 च इयं

¹ H[?] K. S.

² [the ti] K. S.

³ Restore perhaps *se aṭṭe chira-thūṭike*.

⁴ *diyaḍhiya k[e]ṭṭa* K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*, cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

⁷ For the nominative singular absolute *kalāñtāñ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *te* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक्क (J) इयं च अठे वडिसिति विपुलं पि च वडिसिति अवरधिया
दियदियं
8 वडिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूषेन (L) २०० ५० ई (M) से हेवं
देवाणपिये
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसुसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्रायेसु द्रुषितव्यं सचं
10 वतवियं से इमे धम्मगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अतेवासिना
11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च वं य . . रहं पवतितविये
12 (P) एसा पोरणा पकिती दीचावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये
13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]ḥṇagiriṭe¹ ayaputasa mahāmātāṇam cha vachan[e]na Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇampiye
āṇapayati
2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyāni v[a]ṇāni ya hakaṁ . . . sa[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bādhāṁ prakamte³ husaṁ ekam savachharaṁ (E) sātireke tu kho
sahvachhareṁ⁴
3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayāte bādhāṁ cha me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisa
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi
4 mī[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakyē mahātpeneva
pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
5 paka[m]i . . neṇa⁵ vipule svage sakyē ārādhētave (I) e[t]i yaṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe
sāvāpīte
6⁶ mahā[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[ya] tī amā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
ṭhitke cha iyaṁ
7 [paka]⁸ (J) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vadhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiyā
diyadhiyaṁ
8 [vadh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvan[e] sāv[a]p[ī]te vyūthēna (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ
Devāṇampiye
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susu[s]iṭaviye hemeva garu[su]⁹ prāṇesu drahayitavyaṁ
sachāṁ
10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva amtevasīna
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]ṁ¹⁰ ya . . rahaṁ¹¹ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like *Suvvina*⁹, but the Śiddhāpura version reads *Suvvina*⁹ distinctly.

² Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddhāpura.

³ *pakamte* Buhler.

⁴ Read *sahvachhare*; *sa[ni]vachhar[a]ṁ* Bühler.

⁵ *paka[mami]ṇeṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamīṇeṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, I. 3 f.

⁶ The Śiddhāpura version reads *yathā kku[dakā] cha*.

⁷ Read *me*.

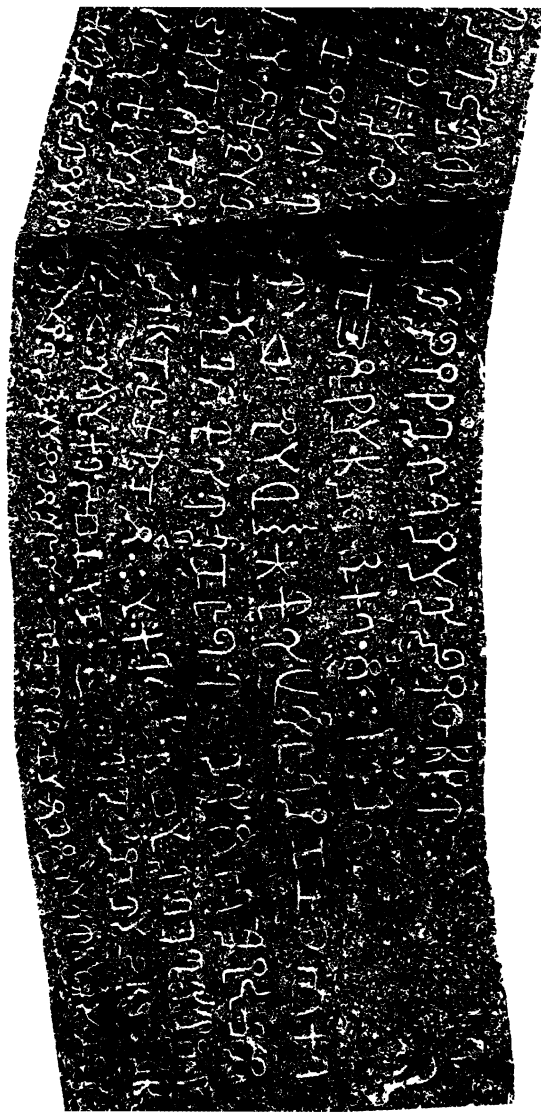
⁸ The Śiddhāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hoti* at Sahasrām).

⁹ *garu[vaṁ]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *k[ṣu?]* Buhler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

¹¹ Restore *yathārahaṁ* and cf. the Śiddhāpura version, I. 20, and the Jaṅga-Rāmēdvāra version, I. 18.

BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSRIPTION. UPPER HALF



12 (P) eṣā porā[n]hā pa[k]ṛitī d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha eṣa (Q) hevaṃ eṣa kaṭṭiye²

13 (R) *Chapaḍena* likhite³ h[pi]karena⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From *Suvarṇagiri*,⁵ at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)⁶ and of the *Mahāmātrās*, the *Mahāmātrās* at *Isila* must be wished good health⁷ and he told this

(B) *Dēvānāhpriya* commands (as follows).

(C) **More than two and a half years** (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*)

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for **one year**⁹

(E) But indeed **a year and somewhat more** (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṅgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably, it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour

¹ d[īgh]ārena Buhler

² Read *kaṭṭiye*.

³ h[pi]k[h]a[ṇ]am Buhler

⁴ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātrās*. Buhler (I-I, 3 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauhi, according to which a *Kunāra* and his *Mahāmātrās* resided at Tōṣali. The separate edicts of Dhauhi and Jaugala were addressed by the king to the local authorities, themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the *Suvarṇagiri* province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at *Isila*. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from *Suvarṇagiri* by Aśoka himself, and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as *Sonagiri*, near *Rājagriha* in *Bihar*, see *JRAS*, 1909, 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects *Suvarṇagiri*, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around *Maski*, which abounds in ancient gold-workings, see his remarks on the *Maski* edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym *Kanikagiri*, south of *Maski* and north of the ruins of *Vijayanagara*, see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

⁶ Buhler (VOJ, 12 75 f) traced the word *āryaputra*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol VI, p. 146 f.

⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁸ The word *nam* is added in the *Rupnāth*, *Sahasrām*, and *Maski* edicts.

⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at *Rupnāth* and *Sahasrām*. As Senart (*JA* (8), 19 481 f) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the *Sahasrām*, *Bairāt*, and *Siddhāpura* edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or *Sākyā*, as the *Rupnāth* and *Maski* edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Saṅgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

¹¹ Cf. the *Delhi-Topiā* pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

¹² With *nam* supply *pakamaṃ*, cf. *vaḍḍi*[m*] *vaḍḍi* in the *Rupnāth* edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).¹

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.²

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders, firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals, the truth must be spoken these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.³

(R) Written by *Chapaḍa* the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवङ्गगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
- 2 खं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकाणि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हक्कं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पक्कंते हुसं एकं सबद्ध ..
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संबद्धे ये मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पक्कंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना सु
- 8 जंबुद मिसा देवेहि (G) पक्कमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प न विपुले खगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से य इयं सावणे सायिते यथा खु-
- 12 दक्का च महाम्या च इमं पक्कमेसु ति अत्ता च
- 13 चिरटितीके च इयं पक्कमे होति
- 14 (J) बढिसिति विपुलं पि च बढिसिति अ
- 15 यढियं बढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा सितविये
- 17 अितथं शचं वत .. यं इमे धम्मगु
- 18 (N) हेमेव अं आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 (O) एसा पोराणा .. किंती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव ..
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये चारहं पवतितव म ..
- 22 स तथा कटविये (R) चप
- 23 ए

¹ Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict

² This section is omitted in the Siddapura and Jaṅga-Rāmśvara versions.

³ At the beginning of this section, the Jaṅga-Rāmśvara version inserts 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.

- 1 (A) **Suvarṇagirite** ayaputasa mahāmūtā-
 2 nam cha vachanena I[s]hlasi mahāmūtā
 3 ārogīyam vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevam
 4 āha (C) **adhikāni a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni** *
 5 ya ha[kam u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakamte husa'n ek[am] sa[vachha]
 6 (E) [sātire]ke tu kho saṁvachhare [yam mayā sam]ghe upajite bādham
 7 [cha me] p[akam]te (F) i[m]inā chu kalena [a]misa sama[na] mī
 8 . **Jambud** [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi yam phale (H) no [h]i i-
 9 ya sake [ma] . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam tu kho khudakena
 10 pi [pa] . . . na [v]ipul[c] svage sak[e] ārādhetave
 11 (I) [s]e ya [iya]m sāvane savite yathā khu-
 12 [daka cha ma]hāt[ya] cha imam [pa]kameyu ti atā * cha
 13 . [chira]-thi[t]h[e] * cha iyam pakame hoti *
 14 (J) . va[t]h[is]iti vipu[la]m p[i] cha vadhisiti [i]
 15 [yadhiya]m vadhisiti (K) i[yā]m [cha] sa[vā]ne
 16 . . . (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [ma] . . . [si]taviye
 17 . . . [hyi]taviyam sa[cha]m va[ta] [ya]m im[e] dhamma gu
 18 . . . (N) [heme]va [a]m . [acha]riye apachāyitaviye su
 19 (O) [i]sā [p]o[r]ā[nā] [ki]ti di[gha]vu[se] cha (P) heme[vu]
 m[ti]evisine * cha
 20 āchariy[e] . thāraham pavatitav m
 21 . sa [ta]thā kataviye (R) **Chapa**
 22 [n.] *

VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) तान च व
 2 इसि विद्या (B) देवान
 3 य हकं
 4 खो बाद (E) तिरके
 5 यं .. या
 6 य
 7 हि इयं
 10 च दिस ..
 11 .. पुलं पि यदियं ..

* samva . . . Buhler

* -thitiki Buhler

* [a]vasine Buhler Read antevāsine

* This syllable is in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet

* Buhler omits 'e'

* he[su] Buhler

* esa Puhler

an to Buhler

- 12 (K) इ सावणे येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
 13 मातापितुसु सितविये हेमेव न ापेसु
 14 स्तितथं सचं वतवियं से इमे
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्चं न ते सतवस
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अन्तेवासिना
 17 राणा पक्किती सितविया विये
 18 चरिये अ आचरियश्चातिक्का ते यथारहं पव-
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पक्किती दीषा च (P) हेमेव श
 20 च य वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय
 21 वं कटविये (R) डेन लिखितं
 22 पिकरेण

1 (A) [t]āna [cha va]

2 Isi [vi]ya (B) Dov[ā]n[a]

3 ya hakam

4 klio bādha (E) ti[reke]

5 [ya]m [yā]

6 [na]

7 [h]i i[ya]m

8

10 [cha] [dhi]s

11 [p]ulam pi [ya]dhiyam

12 (K) 1 [ā]vane [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [hcme]va

13 [ma]i[ā]-pītusu [s]itav[i]y[ē] he[m]e[va] [na] es[u]

14 hy[ita]v[y]am sacham vataviyam [se]¹ i[me]

15 hevam p[va]taviya (N) [svaa]m na te s t va[s]

16 taviya ² hemeva āchari[ē] amtevaśin[ā]

17 [r]ana paki[ti] sata[v]iy[ā] [v]i[y]e ³

18 chari[c] a ⁴ [a]char[i]yaśa nātika te ya[thāraha]m [pava]

19 titaviye (O) esa [pō]tā[nā] pākiti d[igh]a cha (P) [hc]me[va] śa ā .

20 [cha] ya vat[i]av[i]ye (Q) hevam [dham]je ⁵ Devāpāmpiy ⁶

21 [va]m kataviye (R) dēna [likhita]m

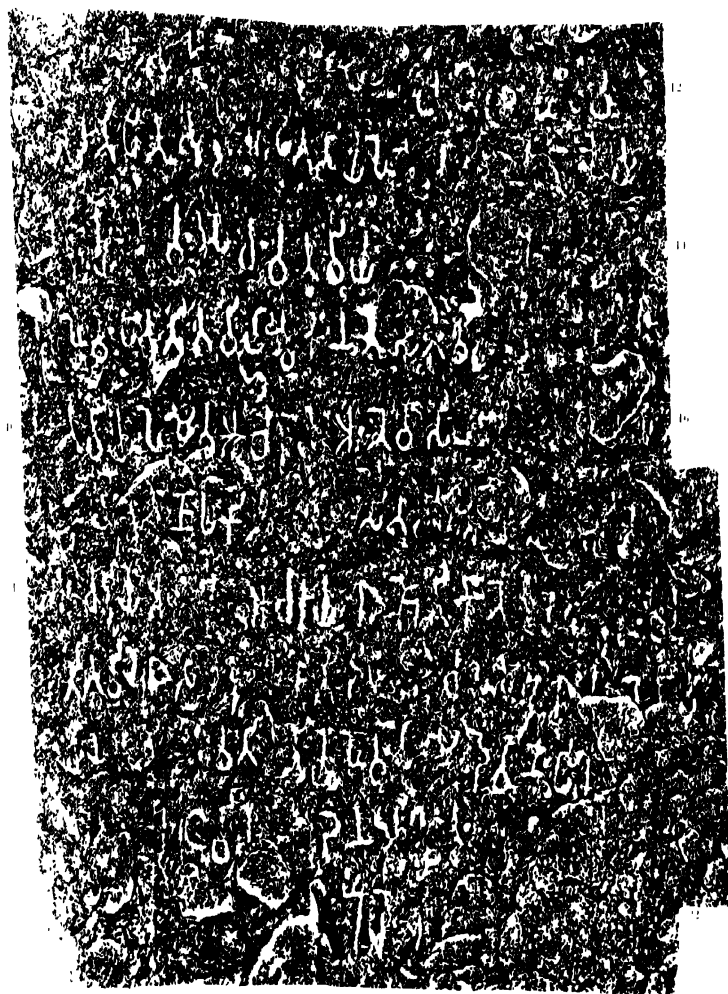
22 [p]aka[re]na ⁷

¹ c Buhler ² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section

³ [pak]iti Buhler ⁴ am Buhler ⁵ [pak]iti Buhler. ⁶ hevam [m] Buhler.

⁷ [p] Buhler. Restore *pyara* ⁸ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhi characters.





IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीबिकेहि
- 1 *lājinā Piyadasinā duvādasa-[vasābhisitenā]*¹
- 2 *[iyam Nigoha]-kubhā' di[nā ājivikehi]*¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave² was given to the Ājivikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीबिकेहि
- 1 *lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-*
- 2 *dasa-vasābhisitenā iyam*
- 3 *kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi*
- 4 *dinā [ājivī]kehi*⁴

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājivikas

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20, 364 f)

³ The Ājivika sect was founded by Gotāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira Kṛm, with whom Buhārī sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaiṣṇava sect, see IA, 20, 361 f. This view was combated by D R Bhandarkar, JBRRAS, 21, 399 ff, and IA, 41 ff 286 ff. Cf Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2, 248, n. 139, and Carpenter in JRAS, 1913 669 ff For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivika' in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced, cf above, n 1 In the first of the three Nāgājūmī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi* see the plate in IA, 20, 365, D.

THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION BARABAR HILL.

- 1 लाज पियदसी एकुनवी-
 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
 3 सागमचात मे इयं कुभा
 4 सुपिये ख दि-
 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavi-
 2 sati-vasā[bh]iśi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
 3 [sagama]thāta [me] i[yaṁ] kubhā
 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha¹ [di]-
 5 nā²

TRANSLATION

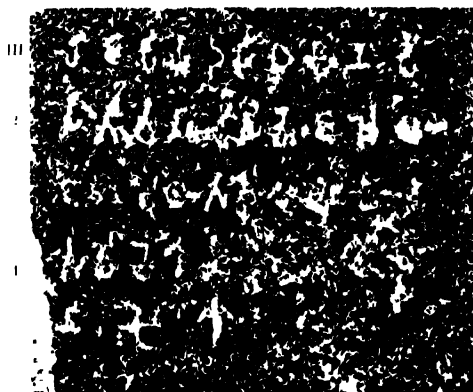
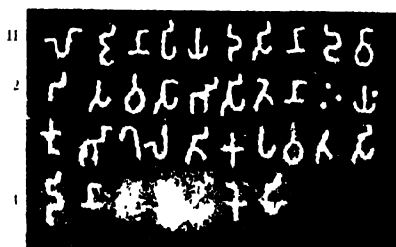
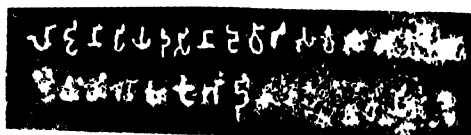
When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me³ for (shelter during) the rainy

¹ Restore *K'halatika-pavatas* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above

² The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them

³ This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to 'site' are nominatives absolute.

⁴ Literally 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt *arthatah* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters' Cf. *vācha-nishrutya*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274)



APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(A) iy[am]	dhamma-lipi				Devānampriyena			
<i>Kāl</i>	(A) iyam	dhamma-lipi				Devānampriyena			
<i>Shāh</i>	(A) [aya]	dhrama dipi				Devānapriasa			
<i>Mān</i>	(A) ayi	dhra[ma]-dip[i]				Devānam[riye]na			
<i>Dhau</i>	(A)	.	[si	pava]tasi	[D]e[v]a[na]mp[riy]				
<i>Jau</i>	(A) iyam	dhamma-lipi	Khep[m]galasi	pavatasi	Devānampriyīna				
<hr/>									
<i>Gir</i>	Priyadasinā	iāñā	lekhi[ā]pitā	(B) [i]lha	kimchi	jivam	alabbhitu		
<i>Kāl</i>	Priyadas[i]na		[lekhi]a	(B) [h]ulā	kichhi	jive	alabbhitu		
<i>Shāh</i>		rañā	hikhapitū	(B) hida	kich[i]	jive	ara[bhitu]		
<i>Mān</i>	Priya[draśina	rajina	h]khapita	(B) hi[da]	kichhi	ii[ve]	ara[bhitu]		
<i>Dhau</i>	[nā	lājina	i][kha]	.		[i]jvam	alabbhitu	
<i>Jau</i>	Priyadasina	lājina	hikhāpita	(B) hida	kichhi	jivam	alabbhi[tu]		
<hr/>									
<i>Gir</i>	prajūhitavyam	(C) na	cha	samajo	katavyo	(D) bahukam	hi	dosam	
<i>Kāl</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi	ch[a]	samaje	kataviye	(D) bahuk[a]	hi	dosā
<i>Shāh</i>	[p]rayuhotave	(C) no	pi	ch[a]	sama[ju]	katava	(D) ba[h]u]ka	[hi]	dosha
<i>Mān</i>	pra[johi]taviye	(C) no	pi	[cha]	samaj[ci]	kataviye	(D) bahu[kā]	hi	[dosha
<i>Dhau</i>	pajo[h]. . . .	(C) [no	pi	cha	sam[ā]je]
<i>Jau</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi	cha	samaje	kataviye	(D) bahukam	hi	dosam
<hr/>									
<i>Gir</i>	samājamhi	pasati	Devānampriyo	Priyadasi	raja		(F) asti		
<i>Kāl</i>	samājasa		Devānam]uyr	Pi[ya]dasi	lājā	lakhatti	(E) athi		
<i>Shāh</i>	sa[maya]spi		Devānapriy[e]	Priyadrasī	ray[a	da]khatti	(E) [a]sti		
<i>Mān</i>	[samajasa		Devānampriye]	Priyadrasī	raja	[da]kha[tu]	(E) asti		
<i>Dhau</i>	[sama]ja . .	[d]	(E)		
<i>Jau</i>	samājasa	drakhatti	Devānampriye	Priyadasi	lājā		(E) athi		
<hr/>									
<i>Gir</i>	pi	tu	ckachā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānampriyasa			
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	ch[a]	ckatiyā	samājā	sādhu]u]-mata	Devānampriyasa			
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-mate	Devānapriasa			
<i>Mān</i>	[pi	chu	eka]iya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata	Devānapriyasa			
<i>Dhau</i>	[pi	chu]	[c]i[y]	[sam]a[jā]	s[ā]dhu-mata	Dev . . .			
<i>Jau</i>	pi	chu	ckatiyā	samājā	sadhu-mata	Devānampriyasa			

<i>Gir</i>	nāsti	sarvata	hārāpitāni	cha	rop[a]ṭitani	cha	(P)	pamthesū	kūpa
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathu	savatā	hālāpītā	chā	lopāpitā	[ch]ā	(P)	ma[g]e[s]u	[lu]khāni
<i>Shah</i>									
<i>Alāu</i>	[na]sti	[savra]tra	harapita	cha	ro[pa]pita	cha	(P)	ma[geshu]	ruchhani
<i>Dhau</i>	. . . . .	v[a]ṭ[a]	hālāpitā	[cha]	lo[p]āpitā	cha	(P)	ma[g]e[su]	udu[pā]nam
<i>Jau</i>	nathu	s[a]vatra	hālāpitā	cha	lopāpita	cha	(D)	magesu	udupānāni
<i>Gir.</i>	cha	khānāpita	vrachhā	cha	ropapit[ā]	paribhogāya		pasu-manusānam	
<i>Kāl</i>	lopitāni	ud[u]panā[n]i	chā	khānāpitāni	paṭibhogāye	pasu-muni[s]nam			
<i>Shah</i>		(C)	kupa	cha	khanapita	pratubh[o]kaye		pasu-manusānam	
<i>Alau</i>	[ropa]p[ita]ni	. . . . .	[ṛi]tani	paṭibhogāye	paśu-m[uni]śānam				
<i>Dhau</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	lopā[p]itāni	p[a]ṭibhogāye	. . . . .	[na]m		
<i>Jau</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(. I)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	i[a]ā	evam	aha	(B)	dhadasa-	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(. I)	De[vā]nampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	h[e]vam	āhā	(B)	du[v]ādasā-	
<i>Shah</i>	(. I)	Devānampiyo	Priyadrasī	raja		ahati	(B)	budaya-	
<i>Alāu</i>	(. I)	Devānapriye	Priyadrasī	raja	eva	a[ha]	(B)	duva[da]śa-	
<i>Dhau</i>	(. I)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā	(B)	duvadasa-	
<i>Jau</i>	(. I)	Devā[nā]mpiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B)	duvādasā-	
<i>Gir</i>		vāsābhisitena	maya	idam	añ[a]pitam	(C)	sarvata	vijite	mama
<i>Kāl</i>		v[a]śābhisitena	me	iyam	ānapayite	(C)	savatā	vijitasi	[mama]
<i>Shāh</i>		vashabhi[s]i[tena]	.	[a]n i pi[tam]	(C)	savatā	ma[a]	vijite	
<i>Alāu</i>		vashabhisitena	me	iyam	[anapayit]	(C)	savata[r]	vijitasi	.
<i>Dhau</i>		vāsābhisitena	me	iy[ā]m ānāp[ay]i	(C)	[ta v]ij[i]t[a]ni	m[e]		
<i>Jau</i>		vāsābhisitena	me	iyam	[ā]	.	.	.	.
<i>Gir</i>		yuta	cha	rājūke	cha	prādesike	cha	pamchasu	pamchasu vāsesu
<i>Kāl</i>		yutā	la[u]k[e]	pādesike	pa[ni]cha[s]u	pamchasu		vasesu	
<i>Shah</i>		yuta	rajuko	pradeśika	pamcha[s]hu	pamchashu	5	vasheshu	
<i>Alau</i>		. . . ta	[ra]ju	pradeśike	[pam]chashu	pam[chashu]	5	vashesh[u]	
<i>Dhau</i>		yut[a]	la[j]u[k]e	.	pamchasu	pamchasu		vasesu	
<i>Jau.</i>		.	cha	pāl[ā]ūke	cha	pamchasu	pamchasu	vasesu	
<i>Gir.</i>		anusamy[a]n[r]m	n i jātū	etāyeva	athāya	imaya		dhammānusastiya	
<i>Kāl</i>		[a]nusa[m]janam	nikham[am]tu	etāye vā	a[th]āye	imaya		dhammanusastiya	
<i>Shāh</i>		anusamyanam	nik[ā]matu	etisa vo	karana	imisa		dhiramanusastiyē	
<i>Alāu</i>		anusa[n]yana[m]	nikramatu	etāye va	athraye	imaye		dhiramanusastiyē	
<i>Dhau</i>		anusayānam	nikhamāvu	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Jau.</i>		anusayānam	nikhamāvu	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Gir</i>		yatha	anāya	pi	kammāy[a]				
<i>Kāl.</i>		yatha	am[nāye]	pi	kammāye				
<i>Shāh</i>		[tha]	añāye	pi	krammaye				
<i>Alau.</i>		ya[tha]	añāye	pi	krama[nē]				
<i>Dhau</i>		atha	amnāye	pi	[ka]m[ma]nē	hevanī	imā[y]e	[dham]mānus[ath]ijiy[e]	
<i>Jau</i>		atha	amnāye	pi	kamma[n]e	.	.	.	.

<i>Gri.</i>	(/I) [s]ādhu	mātau cha pitau cha susrūsa	mitra-samstuta-ñātīnam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(/I) sādhu	māta-pitūsu	susūsā mita-samthuta-nātikya[n] chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(/I) sādhu	mata-pitushu	suśrūsha mitra-sams[ū]ta-natikanam
<i>Man.</i>	(/I) [s]ādhu	mata-[p]it[ū]shu	[s]u[ś]rūsha mitra-[s]a[m]stuta-natikanam cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	(/I) [s]ād[h]u	māt[ā] p[ī]t[ī]su	su[s]rūśā m[] natisu cha
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	[s]a mita-samthute[s] . natisu ch[a]

<i>Gri.</i>	bāmbhana-samanānam	sād[h]u d[ī]nām prānānam sādhu	anarimbho
<i>Kāl.</i>	bambhana-samā[n]nam [chā]	sadhu d[ī]ne pānānam	anālambh[er]
<i>Shāh.</i>	bramana-[śra]mānā[nam]	.	[pra]nānam [anaram]bho
<i>Māu.</i>	bā[m]na-śrīmanāna[m]	sadhu dāne prānāna	[anara]bh[er]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bambhana samanehi	sādhu dāne pvesu	anālambh[er]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	bambhana-samanehi	sādhu dāne pvesu	[ā]nālambh[er]

<i>Gri</i>	apa-vyayātā	apa-bhadata	sadhu (/I) parisa	pi	yut
<i>Kāl.</i>	sādhu [a]pa-v[ī]yātā	[a]pa [bha]m[da]t[er]	sadhu (/I) parisa	pi	cha yutami
<i>Shāh.</i>	sadhu apa v[ay]ata	apa-bhamdata	sadhu (/I) pari	[pi]	yutami
<i>Māu.</i>	sadhu apa-[vā]yāta	apa bha[da]ta	sadhu (/I) parisha	pi	cha yut mi
<i>Dhau.</i>	sadhu apa-viy[ā]tā	apa bh[am]datā	sadhu (/I) [pā]hisa	pi	cha [nas]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sadhu				

<i>Gri.</i>	ānapayisati	gananāyam	hetuto cha	vyamjanato cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[gā]nanasi	anap[ā]yisanti	hetuv[ita]	chā viyamjanat[er] cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	[gā]nanasi	anapeśamtu	hetuto	ch[er] viyamjanato ch[er]
<i>Man.</i>	ga[na]nasi	[anapa]yis[ati]	hetute	cha viyamjanate cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	y[ā]t[ā]ni	āna[p[ā]y]is[ati]	[he]tut[er]	ch[a] viyamja
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	[y]	hetute	cha viyamjanate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gri.</i>	(.I) atik[ī]tam	am[ti]k[ī]ram	bahuni	vasa-satani	vadhito	ev
<i>Kāl.</i>	(.I) atika[m]tam	a[m]tā[ka]m	bahuni	vasa satāni	v[ad]h[er]	vi
<i>Shāh.</i>	(.I) atikratani	am[ti]ram	bahuni	vasha-satani	vadhito	vo
<i>Māu.</i>	(.I) atikratam	ata[ram]	bahuni	vasha ś[ā]t[ā]ni	vadhito	vo
<i>Dhau.</i>	(.I) atikamtam	am[ti]lam	bahūni	vasa-satani	vadhite	vi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(.I) a[ti]kamtam	amtalam	bahūni	vasa satani	vadhite	va

<i>Gri.</i>	piānārambho	vihiṃsa	cha	bhūtānam	natisu	a[s]amp[ra]p[ati]
<i>Kāl.</i>	pa[nā]rambhe	vi[h]isa	cha	bhūtānam	natinā	asam[pa]p[ati]
<i>Shāh.</i>	pranārambho	vihiṃsa	cha	bhuta[nā]m	natinā	asampatipati
<i>Māu.</i>	piānaram[bh]	vihi[sa]	ch[er]	bhutanam	natina	asapa[tip]iti
<i>Dhau.</i>	pārā[la]mbhe	vihiṃsa	cha	bhūtānam	natisu	asampatipati
<i>Ṭau.</i>	panālam[bhe]	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gri.</i>	brā[m]hana-sramanānam	asampatipati	(B) ta	aya	De vānamprīyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	samana-b[ra]m[ā]nānam	asampatipati	(B) ś[er]	aya	De vānamprīyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	śramana-bramanāna[m]	a[sam]patipati	(B) 'so	aya	Devana[m]prīyas
<i>Māu.</i>	śrama[nā]bramanāna	asa[m]patipati	(B) se	aya	[De]van[prī]yas
<i>Dhau.</i>	samana-bābha[n]su	asampatipati	(B) se	aya	Devanamprīyasa
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	(B) se	aya	Devanamprīyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	param	cha	tena	y[a]	me[a]	pacham	āva	samvata-kapa
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā]	palam	[chā]	tehi	[ye]	apatīye	[m]e	āva-kapam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	para[m]	cha	[tena]	y[e]	me	apacha	vrakshamti	ava-kapam
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	para	cha	[tē]na	ye	apatīye	me	[a]va-[ka]pam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]	m	cha	[tē]na	ye	apatīye	me	ava-kapam	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	va	palam	cha	te	.	.	.		

<i>Gir.</i>	anuvatisare	tatha	so	sukatam	kasati	(F)	yo tu	eta	desam
<i>Kāl.</i>	tatha	anuvatisa[m]u	s[e]	s[u]katam	kachham[t]	(F)	e	chu	het[ā] desam
<i>Shāh.</i>	tatha	ye an[u]vatisamti	te	s[u]kita[m]	kashamti	(F)	yo	chu	ato kam
<i>Mān.</i>	tatha	anuvatisati	se	sukata	ka[sba]u	(F)	ye	[chu]	atia de[ti]
<i>Dhau.</i>	tatha	anuvatisamti	s[e]	sukatam	kachh[am]u	(F)	e	heta	d[e]sa[n]
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	hāp[sa]ti	so	[du]katam	kāsati	(G)	sekaram	hi	papa[m]
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	hāpa[y][sat]	s[e]	dukatam	kachhati	(G)	p[ā]p	hi	nama supadālaye
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	hāp[sa]di	so	dukatam	kashati	(G)	papam	h[i]	sukatam
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	hāp[sa]ti	se	dukata	kashati	(G)	p[ā]p	hi	n una supadāraye
<i>Dhau.</i>	pi	hāpa[y]sat[i]	se	dukatam	kachhati	(G)	p[ā]p[ka]	hi	[n una] supadālaye
<i>Ṭau.</i>									s[u]pādālaye

<i>Gir.</i>	(II)	atikatam	amtaram	na	bhūta-pravam	dhamma-mahāmātā	nam i
<i>Kāl.</i>	(II)	se	atikamam	amtalam	no huta pulva	dham[mā] mahāmātā	n un i
<i>Shāh.</i>	(II)	sa	atikratam	atar	no bhut i prava	dhrāmum i m [ha]mā[ta]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(II)	s[e]	atikrat i[m]	a[m]tata[m]	na bhut i prava	dhrāma-[ma]hamātra	nam i
<i>Dhau.</i>	(II)	s[e]	a[tikam]am	amtalam	no huta pulva	dhrāmum i-mahāmata	nama
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(II)	se	[a]				

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	ta	m[a]y i	trādasa	vasābh[is]itena	dhamm[i]-mahāmata	kata
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	t[e]da	sa-vasābh[is]itā	nā	mamay i	dhamma-mahamat[ā]	ka[t]a
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	so	trādasa-vasābh[is]itena	may i		dhrāma mahamatr i	kit i
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	se	trādasa-va[sā]bh[is]itena	may i		dhrāma-mahamatra	kata
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	se	trādasa-va[sā]bh[is]itena	me		dhamma mahāmata	nama
<i>Ṭau.</i>							kat i

<i>Gir.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	sava-pāsamed[sa]	vyapata	dhammadhīstānāya		
<i>Kāl.</i>	(Ṭ)	[te]	sav[ā]-pāsamed[sa]	vyāp[ā]tā	dham[m]adhīstānāya	ch[ā]	dhamm i
<i>Shāh.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	savira prashamed[sa]	vapata	dhrāmadhīstānāya	cha	dhrāma
<i>Mān.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	savira-pa[sā]leshā	vaputa	dhrāmadhīstānāya	cha	dhrāma
<i>Dhau.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	sava-pāsamed[sa]	v[i]y[ā]pata	dhammadhīstānāya		dhrāmum i
<i>Ṭau.</i>					[dha]m[m]ā[dhīstā]nā		

<i>Gir.</i>	.				[dha]mm i yutasa	cha	Yon i-K[ā]mb[ā]ya
<i>Kāl.</i>		vadhīya	h[ā]da-sukhaye	va	dhamm[a] yutasa		Yon i Kamb[ā]ya
<i>Shāh.</i>		vadhīya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dhrāma yutasa		Yona Kamb[ā]ya
<i>Mān.</i>		vadhīya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dh[i]jama yutasa		Yona-Kamb[ā]ya
<i>Dhau.</i>		[va]dhīye	hita-sukhāye	[cha]	dhamma-yutasa		Yona Kamb[ā]ya
<i>Ṭau.</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	Gamdliārānam	Rīstika-P[c]tenikānam	ye	vā	pi	a[m]ā[e]	ā[par]ātā
<i>Kāl</i>	Gamdliālānam		e	vā	[pi]	amne	apalamtā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Gamdliharanam	Rathikanam Pitinikanam	ye	va	pi		aparamta
<i>Mān</i>	Gadharana	Rathika-Pitinikana	ye	va	pi	añe	aparata
<i>Dhau</i>	Gamdhalēsu	Lathika-[P]tenikesu	e	vā	pi	amne	āpalamtā
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	(A') bhatamayesu	va	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	(A') bhatamayesu	bambhanibhesu	anathesu	[v]udhesu			hida-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A') bhatamayeshu	bramanibhesu	anatheshu	vudheshu			[hita]-
<i>Mān.</i>	(A') bha[ta]mayeshu	bramanubhyeshu	anatheshu	vudhreshu			hida-
<i>Dhau</i>	(A') bhat[imay]esu	bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u	anathesu	ma[hāla]kesu	cha	h[ī]t[ā]	
<i>Jau</i>	.	bhanibhi	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	[su]khā[ya]	dhamma]-yutānam	apar[i]godhāya	vyāpatā	te	(Z)	ba[m]dhana-
<i>Kāl.</i>	sukhāye	dhamma-yutaye	apalibodhāye	viyapātā	te	(Z)	bamdhā[na]-
<i>Shāh</i>	sukhāye	[dhrām]ma-yutasa	apali[ḡ]dha	vap[a]ta	te	(Z)	badhana-
<i>Mān.</i>	su[khāye]	dhrāma-yuta-	apalibodhaye	viya[p]uta	te	(Z)	badhana-
<i>Dhau</i>	sukhāye	dhamma-y utāye	a[pā]libodhāye	viyā[pā]tā	se	(Z)	hamdhana-
<i>Jau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	badhasa	patividdhānāya	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	[badha]sa	patividdhānay[e]	apalibodhaye	mokh[ā]ye	chā	eyam	anubadh[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	badhasa	patividdhanay[e]	apalibodhaye	mo[kshāye]	ayī	anuba	.
<i>Mān.</i>	badha[sā]	pativ[ī]dhanay[e]	apalibodhaye	mokshay[ī]	cha	īyam]	anubadha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ba]dhas[ā]	p[ā]t[ī]vidhānā]ye	apalib[ō]dhāye	mokhāye	cha	īya[m]	anubamd[hā]
<i>Jau</i>	.	.	.	mokhaye	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	[p]rajā	katabhikāresu	vā	thairesu	vā	vyāpatā	te
<i>Kāl.</i>	prajava	ti v[ā] katabhikā]le	ti	va	m[ah]a[la]ke	ti v[ā]	viy[ā]patā
<i>Shāh.</i>	prajava	kitabhikaro	va	mahalake	va	viyapata	[t]e
<i>Mān</i>	p[r]aja	t[ī] va	katrabhikara	ti	va	mahalake	ti
<i>Dhau</i>	p[aj]ā	[t]i [va	ka]tabhikā[le]	ti	va	mahālake	ti
<i>Jau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	se

<i>Gir</i>	(M) Patalipute	cha	bāhīrasu	cha	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	(M) hīd[ā]	ba[h]īlesu	cha	naga[l]jesu	s[ā]ves[u]	olodha[n]esu]	.
<i>Shāh</i>	(M) ia	bahiresu	cha	nagaresu	savresu	orodhaneshu	.
<i>Mān</i>	(M) hīda	bahiresu	cha	nagaresu]	savresu	[ō]rodhaneshu	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	(M) hīda	cha	bāhīlesu	cha	nagalesu	savesu	s[ā]vesu
<i>Jau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	olodhanes[u]

<i>Gir</i>	.	.	.	.	[y]e	vā	pi
<i>Kāl</i>	.	bhā[tina]m	cha	ne	bh[agī]nī[nā]	e	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	bhratuna	cha	me	spasana	cha	ye
<i>Mān</i>	.	bhatana	cha	spas[ū]na	[cha]	ye	va
<i>Dhau</i>	[me]	e	vā	pi	bhāt[ī]nam	me	bhaginīnam
<i>Jau.</i>	.	e	[v]ā	.	.	.	.

<i>Gri.</i>	ñātikā	sarvata	vijāpatā	te	(N)	yo	ayam	dhama-nisito	ti va
<i>Kāl.</i>	nātikye	savatā	vijā[p]tā		(N)	e	iyam	dhama-nisite	ti va
<i>Shāh.</i>	ñatika	savatra	vijaputa		(N)	y[ɛ]	ayam	dh[r]ama-nisite	ti va
<i>Man.</i>	ñatike	savratra	vijapata		(N)	[ɛ]	iyam	dhrama-nisito	to va
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nāi][su]	sava[ɬa]	v[i]j.apata		(N)	e	iyam	dhamm[ā n]isite	ti va
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gri.</i>									
<i>Kāl.</i>									
<i>Shāh.</i>									
<i>Man.</i>									
<i>Dhau.</i>									
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gri.</i>		[i]r[ɛ]	[dha]nma mahāmata	(O)	etāya	athaya	ayam	dhamma	
<i>Kāl.</i>	yutasi	vijāpatā	te	dhamma m[ɛ]	[dham]a]ja	(O)	etāye	athāye	[i]yam dhamma
<i>Shāh.</i>	yut[ɬ]si	vijapata	te	dhama-mahamatra	(O)	etaye	athaye	[ā]y	dhama-
<i>Man.</i>	yutasi	vaputa	[te]	dhama-mahamatra	(O)	etāye	athāye	ay	dhama-
<i>Dhau.</i>	yutasi	vijāpata	ime	dhama-mahām[ā]ta	(O)	[i]n[ā]y[ɛ]	athāye	iyam	dhamma
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gri.</i>	lipi	likhitā							
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	likhita	chi[la]-thitukya	hotu	[tathā]	cha me	[pa]ja	[a]nuva[ta]tu	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipista	ch[i]ra-thitika	bhot[u]	ta[tha]	cha [m]e	p[ɛ]ja	anuvata	
<i>Man.</i>	dipi	likhita	chira-thitika	hotu	tatha	cha me	praja	anuvata	
<i>Dhau.</i>	lip[i]	li[kh]i[ta]	chila thituk[ā]	ho]tu	t[athā]	cha me	pa[jā]	anuvatitu	
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gri.</i>	(A)	[Deva]		[s]rāja	evam	aha	(B)	atikram[ā]m	amtara[m]
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	De v[ā]nampi[y]e	Piyadasi	[i]	laja	hevam	āha	(B)	atikramtam
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	Devanapriyo	Piyadasi	raja	eva	ahatu	(B)	atikramtam	amtara
<i>Man.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Piyadasi	raja	[e]va[m]	aa	(B)	atikram	amtaram
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	De v[ā]nampi[y]e	Piyada[s]	si	laja	[he]v[em]	[ā]ha	(B)	atit[im]am[ā]m[ta]m
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	[nā]m[pi]ye	Piyadasi	laja	hevam	ahi	(B)	atit[im]am[ā]m[ta]m	

<i>Gri.</i>	na	bhuta	pru[v]	[s]	[v]	[i]	atha	kamme	va	pativedana	v
<i>Kāl.</i>	no	bhuta	puluv[ɛ]	sav[ā]m	kalam	atha	k[am]me	[v]ā	[p]it[ɛ]	[vedā]nā	v
<i>Shāh.</i>	na	bhuta	pruvam	sava[m]	kala[m]	atha	kramam	va	pativedana	v	
<i>Man.</i>	na	bhuta	pruve	[s]v[am]	kala	athra	[krama]	va	[p]itivedana	v	
<i>Dhau.</i>	no	[h]ū[ta]	puluve	s[ā]vam	kalam	atha	ka[m]me	va	[pa]tiveda[n]	v	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	no	bhūta	puluve	savam	kalam	ath	kamm[ɛ]		pativēdana	v	

<i>Gri.</i>	(C)	ta	mayā	evam	katam	(D)	s[ɛ]v[ɛ]	kāle	bhum[ɛ]	[i]man[ɛ]	me
<i>Kāl.</i>	(C)	s[ɛ]	ma[may]	hevam	kate	(D)	s[ɛ]vam	kāl[im]	adamān	s[ɛ]	me
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C)	ta[m]	mayā	eva[m]	kita[m]	(D)	savram	kalam	aśamanasa		me
<i>Man.</i>	(C)	ta	mayā	evam	katam	(D)	savra	kalam	aśata		me
<i>Dhau.</i>	(C)	se	mamayā	kate	(D)	s[ā]va[m]	[kalam]		[man]i[s]		me
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(C)	se	mamayā	kate	(D)	savam	kalam		[i]m]		

<i>Gir.</i>		orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi	cha	uyānesu
<i>Kal</i>		olodhanasī	gabhāgālasī	va[chas]i		vin[ita]si		u[y]ānāsī
<i>Shāh.</i>		orodhanaspi	grabbhagaraspi	vachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspi
<i>Māu</i>		orodhane	grabbhagarasi	vachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspi
<i>Dhau</i>	amte	olodh[a]nasī	ga[bhā]g[āla]sī	v[achas]i		[v]inītasī		[u]y[ā]n[as]i
<i>Ḥau</i>	amte	olodhanasī	gabhāgālasī	vachasī		vinītas[ī]		uyānasī

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	savatra	pativedakā	stīta	athe	me	[ja]nasa	pativedetha
<i>Kal</i>		[sava]t[ā]	pative[da]kā		atha[m]		janasā	.. vedetu
<i>Shāh.</i>		savatra	pativedakā		atham		janasa	pativedetu
<i>Māu.</i>		savatra	pa[t]i[ve]da[kā]		athra		janasa	pativedetu
<i>Dhau</i>	[cha]	sa]vata	pativedakā		janasa		atham	[ja]tivēd[ā]yamtu
<i>Ḥau</i>	cha	savata	pativedakā		janasa		atham	pr itiveda]amtu

<i>Gir.</i>		iti	(F) sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomi	
<i>Kal</i>	[m]e		(F) sa]va]ta	[ch]a	ja[nas]ā	atham	kachhāmi	hakam
<i>Shāh.</i>	me		(F) savatra	cha	ja[n]sa	a[h]i]a	karomi	
<i>Māu</i>	me		(F) savatra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[ō]mi	aham
<i>Dhau</i>	m[e]	ti	(F) sava]ta	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	atham	kalāmi	b[aka]m
<i>Ḥau</i>	me	ti	(F) savata	cha	janasa			[ka]m

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) ja	cha	kimchi	mukhato	ānapayāmi	svayam	dāpakam	vā
<i>Kal</i>	(F) yam	pi	ch[ā]	k[hi]	m]u[kha]j[re]	ānapayā]mi	[ha]kam	da]pakam
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F) ya[m]	pi	cha	k[hi]	mukhato	anapayami	a[h]am	dapa[kā]
<i>Māu.</i>	(F) yam	pi	cha	kichhi	mukhato	anapemi	aham	dapakam
<i>Dhau</i>	(F) am	pi	cha	ki[m]chhi	mukh[ā]te	anapay[ā]mi		dipakam
<i>Ḥau</i>	(F) am	pi	cha	kimchhi	mukhate	ānapayāmi		dāpakam

<i>Gir.</i>	śravāpakam	vā	ja	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāy[ke]	aropitam	bhavati
<i>Kal</i>	[śāvaka]m	va	ye	va	punā	mahāmā[re]	a[t]iāyike	ālopite	hi]o[t]i
<i>Shāh.</i>	śravaka	va	ye	va	p[ā]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitam	bhoti
<i>Māu.</i>	śravakam	va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehi	achayike	aropite	hoti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[śā]v[a]kam	vā	e	vā		mahām[āch]i	atryayike	ālopite	hoti
<i>Ḥau</i>	śāvakam	vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]matehi	a[t]i[ya]yike	[ā]lopite	hoti

<i>Gir.</i>	tāya athāya	vivādo	nijhati	v[ā]	s]amto	parisāyam	ānamtarām	
<i>Kal</i>	ta[yeth]a]ye	vivāde	n[i]jhati	v[ā]	samtam	palisā]ye	anam[ta]i]yenā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	taye athaye	viva[dre]	nijha[t]i	va	satam	parishaye	anamtariye	na
<i>Māu.</i>	taye athraye	vivade	nijati	va	samta	pari]sha]ye	a[na]taliyena	
<i>Dhau.</i>	tasi athasi	v[i]vāde	va	[n]ijhati	va	samtam	palisā]m	ānam]taliyam
<i>Ḥau</i>	tasi athasi	vivāde	va			lisāy[am	a]nam[ta]liyam	

<i>Gir.</i>	pat[i]vede	ta[v]am	me	sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(G) evam	mayā
<i>Kal</i>	pat[i]	.. viye	me	sav[a]t[ā]	savam	kālam	(G) hevam	ānapayite
<i>Shāh.</i>	pativedetavo	me		savatra	savam	kala[m]	(G) eva	anapāita[m]
<i>Māu.</i>	pativedetaviye	me		savatra	sava	kāla	(G) evam	anapita
<i>Dhau.</i>	pat[ivē]dētav[i]y[e]	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G) heva[m]	me
<i>Ḥau</i>	pativedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G) hevam	me

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aham janasa karomi a[h]am* (F) *yam cha kuchi mukhato anapemi aham dapa]m* *va śravaka va ye va pana maha*

<i>Gir</i>	ahapitam	(H)	nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	ustānamhi	atha-samuranāya	va
<i>Kāl</i>	m[a]mayā	(H)	nathi	hi	me	dose	uthān[a]sā	atha-samtil[a]naye	cha
<i>Shāh</i>	mayā	(H)	[na]sti	hi	me	toshē	uthanas[i]	atha-sa[m]tiranaye	[ch i]
<i>Māu</i>	mayā	(H)	nasti	hi	me	toshē	[uthanas]	ath[r]a-sa[m]tiranaye	cha
<i>Dhau</i>	anusathe	(H)	nath[i]	hi	ni	[to:s]	u[th ma]si	atha-samtilanāya	cha
<i>Ṭau</i>	anusathe	(H)	nathi	hi	me	tose	uthānasi	atha-samtilan[ī]y[ā]	cha

<i>Gir</i>	(f)	katavya	mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitam	(ḡ)	tasa	cha	puna
<i>Kāl</i>	(f)	kat[ā]viya	-mate	hi	me	ś[a]va-loka-hi-te	(ḡ)	t[asā]	ch[ā]	[p]u[n]ā
<i>Shāh</i>	(f)	katāva	-matam	hi	me	sava-loka hitam	(ḡ)	ta[sa]	chā	
<i>Māu</i>	(f)	kataviya	-mate	hi	me	sava-loka h[ī]te	(ḡ)	[ta]sa	chi	puna
<i>Dhau</i>	(f)	kataviya	-m[ī]t[ī]	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(ḡ)	tasa	cha	pana
<i>Ṭau</i>	(f)				me	sava-loka-hite	(ḡ)	tasa	chi	pana

<i>Gir</i>	esa	mūle	ustānam	cha	atha-samtirānā	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Kāl</i>	es[ē]	mūle	uth[ān]		[a]tha samtilana	chā	(K)	[na]thi	hi
<i>Shāh</i>	mūlām	etia	uthānam		atha-samtirāna	cha	(K)	na[sti]	hi
<i>Māu</i>	eshe	mūle	uthān		athra satirāna	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Dhau</i>	iyam	mūle	[u]thān[ē]	cha	a]tha-samtil[ā]j[ī]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi
<i>Ṭau</i>	iyam	mūle	uthāne	cha	atha samtilanā	cha	(K)	nathi	hi

<i>Gir</i>	kammātaram	sarva-loka-hitatpa	(Z)	ya	cha	kimchi	parakramam
<i>Kāl</i>	kam[ī]n i]kala	sava lo[ka] hitenā	(Z)	y am	cha	kichhi	palakamam
<i>Shāh</i>	k[r]amātara[m]	sava loka hit[ī]n i]	(Z)	y am	cha	kichi	parak[r]amam
<i>Māu</i>	kramātara	savra-loka-hite na	(Z)	y a[m]	cha	[kichi]	pa[ra]kramam
<i>Dhau</i>	kammāta	[sa]va-lo[ka] hitenā	(Z)	[am]	ch[ā]	kichhi	p[ā]lakamam
<i>Ṭau</i>	k[am]mātālī	sava loka hiten[ā]	(Z)	am	cha	kichhi	[ā]lakamam

<i>Gir</i>	aham	kimti	bhūtānam	ān unnam	gachhu yam	idhi	chi	n mi	
<i>Kāl</i>	hakam	kiti	bhūtānam	[a]nanyam	y[ē]ham	hi]ti	cha	[kā]ni	
<i>Shāh</i>		kiti	bhutanam	ananyam	v[r]ic h y am	ia	cha	sha	
<i>Māu</i>	aam	k[i]t[i]	bh[ū]tanam	ananyam	y[ē]ham	ia	cha	she	
<i>Dhau</i>	hakam	kimti	bhūtānam	i]nā]nyam	y ch i]m	ti	[h]i]t[i]	chi	[k] m[i]
<i>Ṭau</i>	hakam			[n]nyam	y cham	ti	hidi	cha	kam

<i>Gir</i>	sukhāyami	paratī	cha	svagam	trādhyamtu	(H)	ta
<i>Kāl</i>	sukhāyami	palata	cha	svagam	alādhyamtu	(H)	[ē]
<i>Shāh</i>	sukhāyami	paratra	cha	spagim	aradh tu	(H)	
<i>Māu</i>	sukhāyami	paratra	cha	spagim	a[r]adh[et]u	(H)	se
<i>Dhau</i>	sukhāyami	pal[ā]t[ā]	cha	svagim	ālādhyamtu	(H)	
<i>Ṭau</i>	su[khā]yami	palata	chi	svagim	aladhayamtu	(H)	

matrānāu achay[ā]m asipat[ā]m | bhūti t[ā] | athaye | i]p[ā]ch[ā] sa[m]tam upati . . . p[ā]m[ā]y
anantariya pativedat[ā]m

¹ On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11 read '(M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

<i>Gir.</i>	etāya	athāya	ayam	dha[m]ma-lipi	lekḥāpitā	kūṁti	chiram	tusteya
<i>Kāl.</i>	etā[y]ethāye	iyam	dhama-lipi	lekhitā	chila-thitukyā	hotu		
<i>Shāh.</i>	etaye	athaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chura-thitika	lhotu	
<i>Māu.</i>	etaye	athraye	iyam	dhrama-dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika	hotu	
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	e[tā]y[e]	athāye	i[yam]	dhamma-lipi	likhitā	ch[i]ḷa-th[i]tikā	hotu	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	etāye	athaye	i[ya]m	dhamma-lipi	likhitā	chila-thitika	hotu	

<i>Gir.</i>	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataṛam
<i>Kāl.</i>		tathā	cha	me	puta-dāle					palakamātu
<i>Shāh.</i>		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramamtu
<i>Māu.</i>		ta[tha]	cha]	me	pu[tra]	nata]re				para[kra]matr
<i>Ḍhau.</i>		ta[th]ā	cha		putā			papolā	me	palakama[m]t[ā]
<i>Ṣau.</i>		.			.	.		[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamamtu

<i>Gir.</i>	sava-loka-hitāya	(N)	dukaram	[t]u		idam	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	sava-loka-hita[y]	(N)	dukale	ch[u]		iyam	anat[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(N)	[du]kaia	tu	[kh]o	imam	añat[r]
<i>Māu.</i>	sa[ra-lo]ka-hitaye	(N)	dukare	cha	kho		[a]ñatra
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		iyam	amnat[ā]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	sava loka-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		i[ya]m	amnat.

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parākramena
<i>Kāl.</i>	agenā	palakam[e]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	agre	parākramena
<i>Māu.</i>	a[ḷ]ena	para[kra]mena
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	a[ḷ]e[n]a	pa]lakamena
<i>Ṣau.</i>	agena	palakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	savata	ichhati	save	pāsamida
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devanampiyē	*Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]i	[i]chhati	sava-[pāsa]mida	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanampriyo	Priyāsī	raja	savatra	ichhati	savra-[p]ashamida	
<i>Māu.</i>	(A)	Devanapriyo	Priyadrasī	raja	savratra	ichhati	savra-pashada	
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	(A)	[D]evānam[p]iye	Piy[a]dasi	lājā	savata	ichhat[i]	sava-p[ā]sam[dā]	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A)	.	da[si]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]samda	

<i>Gir.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	te	sayamam	cha	bhāva-sudhim
<i>Kāl.</i>	vas[e]vu	(B)	[sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[m]	bhāva-sudhi
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	hi	te	sayame	bhava-sudhi
<i>Māu.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma	[bha]va-su[dh]
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	[va]sevū	ti	(B)	save	h[i]	te	sa]yamam
<i>Ṣau.</i>	va[s]e . .	[t]i	(B)	[sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]m

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	ichhati	(C)	jano	tu	uchāvacha-chhamdo
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ichhamti	(C)	jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	jano	chu	uchavucha-chhamdo
<i>Māu.</i>	[cha	ichham]ti	(C)	jane	chu	uchavucha-chhade
<i>Ḍhau.</i>	ch i	ichhamti	(C)	mun[i]sā	ch[a]	uch[ā]va-uch[ā]m[d]ā
<i>Ṣau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	munisā	cha	uchāvucha-chhamda

<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacha-rāgo	(D)	te	savram	va	kasamti	eka-deśam	va	kaśa[m]ti
<i>Kāl</i>	uchāvucha-lā[g]e	(D)	te	savam			eka-deś[am]	pi	k[ā]śham[t]h
<i>Shāh</i>	uchavucha-rago	(D)	te	savram	va		eka-deśam	va	pi kashamti
<i>Māu.</i>	uchavucha-rage	(D)	te	savram			eka-deśam	va	pi kashati
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucha-lāgā	(D)	te	savram	vā		ek[ā]-deśam	va	kachham[t]u
<i>Ṭau.</i>	uchāvuch[a]-lāga	(D)					[sa]m	va	kachhamti

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) vipul[ɔ]	tu	pi	dane	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhāva-sudhita
<i>Kāl</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dan[ɛ]	asā	nathi	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[ɪ]
<i>Shāh</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-sudhi
<i>Māu.</i>	(E) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayeme	bhava-suti
<i>Dhau.</i>	(E) vipul[ɔ]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athu]	sa[jyame]	[bh]ava-sudhi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(E) [v]i[pul]e	[p]	chā	[d]āne				[dhi]

<i>Gir</i>	va	katamāta	va	dadhā-bhatu[t]a	cha	nicha	badham
<i>Kāl</i>		kitanā[ā]		d[ɪ]dha-bhatitā	chā	n[ɛ]che	bādham
<i>Shāh</i>		kitranata		dridha-bhatita		niche	padham
<i>Māu.</i>		kitanata		dridha-bhatita	cha	nichi	badham
<i>Dhau.</i>					cha	niche	badham
<i>Ṭau.</i>					cha	niche	[b]adham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(I) atikātam	amtaram	raṇo	vihara-yatam
<i>Kāl</i>	(I) atikamtam	a[m]talām	Devānampiya	[vihara]-yatam
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I) atikratam	atarām	Devanampriya	vihara-yatra
<i>Māu.</i>	(I) a[ti]kratam	atarām	Devanapriya	vihara yatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I) [atika]m[ta]m	amt[ala]m	la[ra]n[ɛ]	[v]i[h[a]]a-yātam
<i>Ṭau.</i>				nāma

<i>Gir</i>	nayāsu	(B) eta	mugavya	añam	cha	etarisam
<i>Kāl</i>	nikhamisu	(B) hidā	mugaviyā	amnam	cha	hetisana
<i>Shāh</i>	nikramishu	(B) atra	mugaya	añam	cha	ed[śam]
<i>Māu.</i>	nikramishu	(B) ia	mugaviya	añam	cha	ed[śam]
<i>Dhau.</i>	[n][kha]m[r]u	(B) [ta	mugaviyā]	a[m]n[im]	ch[ɪ]	ed[āni]
<i>Ṭau.</i>			[v]i[ɔ]	[a]ñnam	cha	ed[ɪ]
<i>Sōp</i>						

<i>Gir</i>	abhiramakāni	ahumsu	(C) so	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi
<i>Kāl</i>	abhiāmān[ɪ]	husu	(C)	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Shāh</i>	abhiramani	abhuvasu	(C) so	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Māu.</i>	abhiamani	husu	(C) s[ɛ]	Devanapriya	Piyadasi
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[bh][ɪ]amāni	huvamti	(C) se	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[m]ani	huvamti	(C) se	Devanampiy	[Piyadasi]
<i>Sōp</i>					

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	daśa-varśābhisito	santo	ayāya	Sambodhim	(D) teneśa
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	daś[ā]-vasābhisite	santam	nikhamithā	Sambodhi	(D) tenatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	satam	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	samta[in]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Dhau.</i>	lājā	d[ā]śa-[vas]ābhisit[ē]		[n]ikhami	Sambodh[i]	(D) [t]e[na]tā
<i>Jau.</i>	. . .	[daśa]				
<i>Söp.</i>				nikhamitha	Sa	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-yatā	(E) etayam	hoti	bāmhana-samanānam	dasane	
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [h]etā	iyam	hoti	samana-bambhananam	dasane
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramma-yatra	(E) atra	iyam	hoti	śramana-bramananam	draśane
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-yada	(E) atra	iya	hoti	śamana-bramanana	dra[śa]ne
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [at]eśa	[ho]ti	samana-bābhanānam	d[ā]śa[n]e	
<i>Jau.</i>		[tā]	hoti	[sa]		
<i>Söp.</i>		(E) heta	iyam	[ho]ti	bam[bha]	

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	thaurānam	dasane	ch[a]	hiramna-pativudhano	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]nam	daśa[n]e	ch[a]	hīlamna-pat[i]vudhane	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		danam		vudhāna[m]	daśana		hirañña-pat[i]vudhane	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		dane	cha	vudhāna	dra[śa]ne	[cha]	hīñña-pat[i]vudhane	chā
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch[a]	d[ane]	cha	v[u]dhanam	dasane	cha	h[ī]lamna-pat[i]vudhane	cha
<i>Jau.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vudhānam	dasane	cha	hīlamna-pat[i]vudhāne	[cha]
<i>Söp.</i>				vudhānam	dasane	[cha]	hiramna-pat[i]vudhāne	cha

<i>Gir</i>	jānapadaśa	cha	janasa	daspanam	dhammānus[ā]ti	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[jā]napadaśā		[ja]n[ā]śā	daś[ā]ne	dhammanusatti	cha
<i>Shāh</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana	dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	janapadasa		janasa	draśane	dhramanuśasti	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	[daśa]ne	cha	dhammānu[satti]
<i>Jau.</i>						
<i>Söp.</i>					[dha*]inmanusa[ti]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhama-paripucchha	cha	tadopayā	(F) eśā	bhujā	ratu
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhama-paripucchā	chā	tatopayā	(F) [e]śe	bh[u]ye	latu
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-pa[r]i[p]ucchha	cha	tatopayam	(F) eśhe	bhuy[ē]	ra[ti]
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha	cha	tatopaya	(F) eśhe	bhuyē	ratu
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . .	[p]u[cc]hā	cha	[ta]d[i]payā	(F) e[śā]	bhuyē
<i>Jau.</i>	[dha]mma-p[ā]r[i]pucchā					ilām
<i>Söp.</i>	dhamma				ye	[ra]ti

<i>Gir.</i>	bhavati	Devānampiyasa	Priyadasino	rañño	bhā[g]e	amīe
<i>Kāl.</i>	hoti	Devānampiyasa	Priyadas[ī]sā	lājine	bh[ā]g[ē]	amīne
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhoti	Devanampiyasa	Priyadrasīsa	rañño	bhago	amīti
<i>Mān.</i>	hoti	Devanapiyasa	Priyadrasīsa	rajine	bhage	amī
<i>Dhau.</i>	hoti	Devānampiyasa	Piyad[ā]sine	lājine	bhāg[ē]	[am]ne
<i>Jau.</i>	hoti	De[v]ānampiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāgc	[ā]
<i>Söp.</i>	hoti	De		n[ē]	bhāgc	am

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(A) Devānampiyō	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(B) asti	jano
<i>Kāl</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piy[ā]da[s]	lā[ja]		aha	(B)	jan[ɛ]
<i>Shāh</i>	(A) Devānampiyō	Priyadasi	rājya	evam	ahati	(B)	jano
<i>Māu</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Priyadasi	raja	evam	aha	(B)	jane
<i>Dhan</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B) [atlu]	i ju
<i>Ṭau</i>	(A) Devān[am]piyē	Piyadasi	la[jā]				

<i>Gir</i>	uchāvacham	mamgalam	karoti	abadhesu	va	āvāha vivāhesu	
<i>Kāl</i>	uch[av]ucham	mamgalam	ka[ɪ]k ti	abadhasi		av[āha]si vivāhasi	
<i>Shāh</i>	uchavucham	mamgalam	karoti	abidhe		avidhe vivāhe	
<i>Māu</i>	uchavucha[m]	ma]gala[m]	karoti	abadhasi		a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi	
<i>Dhan</i>	uchavucham	mamgalam	ka[ɪ] ti	[ab]udha		[v] [vāha]	
<i>Ṭau</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	va	putra-lālhesu	va	pravasammhi	va	etamhi	cha	añamhi	cha
<i>Kāl</i>		pajopadāne		pavāsasi		ɛ [ti]ye		amñaye	cha
<i>Shāh</i>		pajupadane		pravase		at iye		amñe	cha
<i>Māu</i>		pajopadaye		pravasaspi		ɛ taye		am iye	[cha]
<i>Dhan</i>		[u]padaye		pavā[s]asi		ɛ taye		amñaye	ch[a]
<i>Ṭau</i>		[u]padaye		pavāsasi		ɛ t iye		amñaye	cha

<i>Gir</i>		jano	uchavacham	mamgalam	karoti	(C) ɛ ta	tu
<i>Kāl</i>	ɛ disaye	jane	bahu	maga[am]	ka[ɪ] ti	(C) het i	[ch]u
<i>Shāh</i>	ɛ dis[ɛ]	jano	ba	mamgalam	karoti	(C) atra	tu
<i>Māu</i>	[ɛ]dis[ɛ]	jane	bahu	maga[am]	ka[ɪ] ti	(C) atra	tu
<i>Dhan</i>	hedisaye	[a]n[ɛ]	bahukam	mamgalam	ka[ɪ]	(C) .	[chu]
<i>Ṭau</i>	hedisaye	jane	[ba]hu[ka]m				

<i>Gir</i>	mahidayo	bahukam	cha	bahuvudham	chi	chhudam	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	abaka-jam[ɔ]	bihu	cha	bahuvudham	cha	khuda	[ch]i
<i>Shāh</i>	stiyaka	bahu	chi	bahuvudham	chi	putika	cha
<i>Māu</i>	abak i-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvudhi	cha	khuda	cha
<i>Dhan</i>	ithi	b[ahuka]m	cha	[ba]hu[v]udh[am]	ch[fa]	kh[ud]am	cha
<i>Ṭau</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	nirath[am]	cha	mamgalam	karoti	(D) ta	katavyameva	tu
<i>Kāl</i>	nilathiya	cha	maga[am]	ka[ɪ]mti	(D) se	katavi	che va
<i>Shāh</i>	nirathiyam	cha	mamgalam	karoti	(D) so	katavo	chi [v]
<i>Māu</i>	nirathiyā	cha	maga[am]	karoti	(D) se	katavye	ch[ɛ] va
<i>Dhan</i>	[nilathi]yam	cha	mamgalam	kaleti	(D) se	ka[ɪ]vye	ch[ɛ] va
<i>Ṭau</i>		[cha]	ma]m[ga]m	ka[ɪ]eti	(D) se	katavye	che va

<i>Gir</i>	magalani	(E) apa-phalam	tu	kho	ɛ tamsam		mamgalam
<i>Kāl</i>	mimgale	(E) apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[ɛ] [ɛ]		
<i>Shāh</i>	mamgala	(E) apa-phala[m]	tu	kho	ɛ ta		
<i>Māu</i>	maga[ɛ]	(E) apa-phale	chu	[kho]	ɛ kho		
<i>Dhan</i>	m[a]mgale	(E) [a]pa-phale	chu	kho	ɛ sa	h[ɛ]disi	mam[ɛ a]
<i>Ṭau</i>	mameale	(E) apa-[pha]le	chu	[kh]o	ɛ [sa]	he [ɛ]ise	mi

<i>Gir</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	ayam	tu		mah[ā]-phale	mamgale	ya	dhamma-mamgale
<i>Kāl</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[i]yam	chu	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhamma-magale
<i>Shāh</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	imam	[t]u	kho	maha-phala		ye	ma-mamgala
<i>Māu</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	iyam	chu	kho	maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
<i>Dhau</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[i]a[m]	[ch]u	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]mma-mamgale
<i>Ḡau</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[i]a[m]	[chu]					

<i>Gir</i>	(<i>ḡ</i>)	ta[te]ta		dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipati	gurūnam	apachiti
<i>Kāl</i>	(<i>ḡ</i>)	he[ti]	iyam	dāsa-bhatakasi	s[a]myā-patip[ati]	gulunā	apachiti
<i>Shāh</i>	(<i>ḡ</i>)	[a]tra	ima	dasa-bhatakasa	samma-patipati	garuna	apachiti
<i>Māu</i>	(<i>ḡ</i>)	atra	iyam	dasa-bhatakasi	samya-patipati	guruna	a[pachit]
<i>Dhau</i>	(<i>ḡ</i>)	[ta]te[sa]		d[ā]sa-bhatakas[i]	sammyā-patipat[i]	gulo[n]am	a[pa]
<i>Ḡau</i>				[sa-bha]takasi	sammyā-patipati	gulūnam	apachiti

<i>Gir</i>	sādhu	pāncsu		sayamo	sādhu	bamhana-samanānani	sadhu
<i>Kāl</i>		[p]ā[n]ān[am]		samyam		s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam	
<i>Shāh</i>		prananam		s[am]yamo		śamana-bramanana	
<i>Māu</i>		pra[n]a		[sa]yame		śramana-bramanana	
<i>Dhau</i>				[me]		samana-bābhan[ā]nam	
<i>Ḡau</i>		pāncsu		say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam]	

<i>Gir</i>	dānam	et[a]	cha	añ[a]	cha	etārisam	dhamma-mamgalam	nām
<i>Kāl</i>	dāne	ese		amne	chā	hetise	dhamma-magale	nama
<i>Shāh</i>	dāna	etam		añam	cha		dhrama-mamga[la]m	nama
<i>Māu</i>	[dane]	eshe		ane	cha	et[he]	dhrama-magale	nama
<i>Dhau</i>	dāne	esa		amne	ch[a]		[dh unna]-mamga[le]	nāma
<i>Ḡau</i>	[d]ā[n]e	[esa]		a[m]ne				

<i>Gir</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	ta	vataavyam	pitā	va	putena	vā	bhātrā	vā	svāmikena
<i>Kāl</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	si	vata[v]ye	pituna	pi	putena	pi	bh[ā]tinā	pi	suvāmiken[a]
<i>Shāh</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[s]o	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena	pi	bhratana	pi	spamik[e]na
<i>Māu</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	se	vataviye	pi[tu]na	pi	putrena	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamikena
<i>Dhau</i>	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[sc]	vata[viye]	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[na]	pi	bhatina	pi	suvāmike[na]
<i>Ḡau</i>				[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi	bhātina	pi	suvāmike[na]

<i>Gir</i>	va						idam	sadhu	idam
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	mita-samthuten[a]	ava	pativesiyenā	[p]	iyam	sadhu	iyam	
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	mitra-sasutena	ava	prativeśiyena		imam	sadhu	[imam]	
<i>Māu</i>	pi	mitra-sa[m]stutena	[a]va	pativeśiyena	pi	iyam	sadhu	iyam	
<i>Dhau</i>	[p]								
<i>Ḡau</i>	pi					iyam	sadhu	iyam	

<i>Gir</i>	katavya	mamgalam	āva	tasa	athasa	nistānāya	(<i>ḥ</i>)	astu
<i>Kāl</i>	kataviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[t]asa	ath[is]ā	ni[v]utiyā		
<i>Shāh</i>	katu[vo]	mamgala[m]	yava	tasa	athrasa	nivutiya		nivutasi
<i>Māu</i>	kataviye	magale	ava	tasa	athrasa	nivutiya		nivutasi
<i>Dhau</i>		[l]e	[a]va	tasa	athas[a]	niphatus[ā]	(<i>ḥ</i>)	[a]thi
<i>Ḡau</i>	kataviye							

Gir cha pi vutam sādhu dana itī (Ḥ) na tu etarissam as
Kāl imam kachhāmu ti (Ḥ) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh va p[ū]na imam kasham (Ḥ) ye hi etake magale
Mān va puna ima [ka]khami ti (Ḥ) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau [cha heva]m v[ū]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ḥ) [s]e [na]thi
Ḥau [s]e

Gir dānam va ana[ga]ho va yāsisam dhamma-dānam va dhamanugaho va
Kāl sa[m]bayikā se (Ḥ) siya va tam atham nivatey[ā] siya punā no
Shāh saśayika tam (Ḥ) siya vo tam atham nivateyati siya puna no
Mān sa[śa]yike se (Ḥ) s[ī]ya va tam atham nivateyati s[ī]ya puna no
Dhau [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ad[ī]se dha[mma] dāne dham[manu]gaho
Ḥau dāne anugah[e] vā ad[ī]se dhamma-dāne dhammanugaho cha

Gir (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhādayena [v]a natikena va sahāyana va
Kāl (K) hi[da]lokika chev[ā] se (Ḥ) iyam punā dhamma magale akalika
Shāh (K) laloka cha vo tam (Ḥ) ida puna dhrama-magalam akalika
Mān (K) hida[lo]kika cheva se (Ḥ) iyam puna dhrama magale akalika
Dhau (K) [m]i [t]h[k]em saha[ye]na p[ī]
Ḥau (K) se chu kho mitena

Gir ovaḍitavyam tamhi tamhi pakarane [i]elam kacham idam sadha itī
Kāl (M) hamhe pi tam atham no niteti hida atham palata anantam
Shāh (M) yadi puna tam atham na nivat[ī] i atha paratra anantam
Mān (M) [hi]che pi tam atham no nivateti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau viyovadita [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m
Ḥau yam sād[h]ū

Gir imina sak[ā] svagam ārādhetu itī (Ḥ) ki cha imina katavyataram
Kāl punā pavasati (M) hamhe puna tam atham nivati ti hida tato
Shāh puñam prasavati (M) hamhe puna tam tham nivateti tato
Mān puna prasavati (M) hiche puna ta[m] atham nivat[ī]ti hida tato
Dhau [i]adhiyatave (Ḥ) ta[v]
Ḥau imena sakiye svage āladhiyatave (Ḥ) kon hi imena katavyatata

Gir yathā svagaradhī
Kāl ubhaye[sam] ladhi hoti hida chā se atha palata chi anantam
Shāh u[bha]y[ī] s[ī] ladham bhoti ia chi so atha paratra chi anantam
Mān ubhaye[sam] [arā]dhe hoti hida cha se atha paratra cha anata
Dhau [svaga]s[ī] ā[adhi]
Ḥau

Kāl. puna pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]
Shāh. puñam prasavati tena dhramamgalena
Mān. punam prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānampiyo	Priyadasī	rājā	yaso	va	kīti	va	na
<i>Kal.</i>	(A) Devā[nam]piye	Priy[a]dashā	lajā	y[a]sho	vā	kīti	vā	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I) Devanapriye	Priyadraśī	raya	yaśo	va	kītri	va	no
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [Devana]piye	Priyadraśī	raja	yaśo	va	kīṭi	va	no
<i>Phau.</i>	(A) [De vanam]piye	Priyad[a]sī	lajā	yaso	vā	[k]īti	vā	n.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	mahāthāvah[a]	mañate	añata					
<i>Kāl</i>	[ma]hathāvā	manati	añatā	[ya]m	pi	yaso	vā	ki[t]i va
<i>Shāh</i>	mahathavaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kītri va
<i>Mān.</i>	mahathravaham	mañati	añatra	jam	pi	ya[śo	va]	kīṭi va
<i>Phau.</i>	.	[ha]m	mam[ate]	.	i	[yaso]	vā	k[ī]ṭi [v]i
<i>Ṭau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ya]so	va	ki[t]i vā

<i>Gir</i>		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me	[ja]no	dhamma-susru[m]sā	
<i>Kāl</i>	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā	jane		dhamma-sususha	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		dhrama-suśrasha	
<i>Mān.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		[dhra]ma-suśrusha	
<i>Phau.</i>	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]	.	[ja]ne	.	[sūsa]m	
<i>Ṭau</i>	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha	jane		dhamma-susūsam	

<i>Gir.</i>	susrusatā		dhamma-vutam	cha		anuvīdhiyatām		
<i>Kāl</i>	susushātu	me	ti	dhamma-vatam	vā	anuvī[dh]ya[m]tu	ti	
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhramma-vutam	cha	anuvī[dh]iyatu		
<i>Mān.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-[vutam	cha]	anuvīdhiyatū	ti	
<i>Phau.</i>	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e		dhamma	.		[me]	
<i>Ṭau</i>	sususatū	me	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	(B) etakaya	Devānampiyo	Piyadasī	raja	yaso	va	kīti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) dhata[k]āye	Devāna[m]piye	Piyadasī	lajā	yasho	vā	kīti	vā
<i>Shāh</i>	(B) etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśī	raya	yaśo		kītri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(B) etakāye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śī	raja	yaśo	va	kīti	va
<i>Phau.</i>	(B) etakāye				[yaso	va	kīti	v]i
<i>Ṭau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	i[chha]u	(C) ya[m]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānam	Priyadasī	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichha	(C) am	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamatū	Devanampiye	Piyadashī	
<i>Shāh</i>	ichhati	(C) ya[m]	tu	kichi	parakramati	Devanampiyo	Priyadraśī	
<i>Mān.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)		[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[t]i	Devanapriye	Priyadraśī	
<i>Phau.</i>	i	.	.	i	[pa]lakama[t]i	Devānampiye		
<i>Ṭau</i>	.	.	.	.	[t]i	Devānampiye		

<i>Gir</i>	raja	ta	savam	pāratrikāya	kimū	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave	
<i>Kāl.</i>	lajā	ta	[sha]va	pālamtikāye	vā	kīti	sakale	apa-[a]śhave
<i>Shāh</i>	raya	tam	sav[r]am	paratrikaye	va	kīti	sakale	aparisrave
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	tam	savram	parat[r]ikāye	va	k[ī]ṭi	sa[kale	apa-pa[r]sav[e]
<i>Phau.</i>				pāl[at]ikā[y]e	.	kīmti	saka[le	apa-pu]isave
<i>Ṭau.</i>				pālatikāye	vā	kī[m]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave

<i>Gir</i>	asa	(/)	esa	tu	parisave	ya	apumām	(/)	dukaram	
<i>Kāl</i>	shiyāti	ti	(/)	[e]she	chu	palisave	e	apune	(/)	dukale
<i>Shāh</i>	siyati		(/)	eshe	tu	parisave	yam	apumām	(/)	dukare
<i>Mān</i>	siyati	ti	(/)	eshe	chu	pa[n]sava	e	apu[n]	(/)	dukare
<i>Dhau</i>	[hu]v[eyā]	tji	(/)	pa[l]isa	.				(/)	[du]ka[le]
<i>Ṭau</i>	[h]uveyā	ti	(/)							

<i>Gir</i>	tu	kho	etam	chhudakena	va	janena	usatena	va	anatra
<i>Kāl</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	va	varena	ushutena	vā	ana[ta]
<i>Shāh</i>	[tu]	kho	eshe	khudrakena		varena	usatena	va	añatra
<i>Mān</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	[va	va]gr[ē]n	[u]s[te]na	va	ana[ta]
<i>Dhau</i>				[i]a	agr[na]			[na	si]vam
<i>Ṭau</i>	.							cha	

<i>Gir</i>	agena	parāk[r]amena	savam	parichajitpa	(/)	et[ā]	t[u]	kho
<i>Kāl</i>	agen[ā]	pa[l]akamenā	shava[m]	palitichitu	(/)	[h]r[ā]	chu	kho
<i>Shāh</i>	agrena	parakramena	sava[m]	paritijitu	(/)	at[r]a	chu	
<i>Mān</i>	a[grē]na	para[krame]na	sav[ram]	pariti[j]itu	(/)	atra	tu	[kho]
<i>Dhau</i>	palit[u]t[u]	khudakena	v[ā]	usatena	vā	(/)		
<i>Ṭau</i>	[l]itit[u]	khudakena	[v]ā	u[s]atena	va	(/)		

<i>Gir</i>	usatena		dukaram
<i>Kāl</i>	[u]shate[na]	vā	dukale
<i>Shāh</i>	usatē		.
<i>Mān</i>	usatene	va	du[kā]re
<i>Dhau</i>	u[satena]	chu	[dukala]tā
<i>Ṭau</i>	usatēna	chu	dukala]tāle

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(/)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	raja	ev[ā]m	aha	(/)	nasti	etarisam
<i>Kāl</i>	(/)	Devānampi[y]e	Piyadasi	[l]iā	hevam	hā	(/)	nathi	h[ē]dishe
<i>Shāh</i>	(/)	Devana[m]piyo	Piyadasi	raja	evam	hahati	(/)	nasti	et[ā]sami
<i>Mān</i>	(/)	Devanapri[y]e	Piyadasi	raja	evam	aha	(/)	nasti	edise

<i>Gir</i>	dānam	yārisam	dhamma-danam	dhamma-samstavo	va	dhamma-
<i>Kāl</i>	dāne	adisha	dha[m]ma-dane			dhamma-
<i>Shāh</i>	dānam	yadisham	dhamma-dana	dhamma-samstav[ē]		dh[r]am
<i>Mān</i>	dane	[a]disē	dhamma-dane	dhamma-samthi[v]		dhamma

<i>Gir</i>	samvibhāgo	[va]	dhamma-sambadhō	va	(C)	tata	idam	bhavyo
<i>Kāl</i>	shav[i]bhage		dhamma-sambadh[ē]		(C)	ta[t]	eshe	
<i>Shāh</i>	samvibhago		dh[r]ama-sambh[m]lhi		(C)	tatr	etam	
<i>Mān</i>	samvibhaga		dhamma-sa[m]bh[m]lhi		(C)	tata	eshe	

<i>Gir</i>	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samyā-p[ā]tipatī	mātari	pitari	sadhu	sus[r]us
<i>Kāl</i>	dāsha-bhatakashī	shamyā-patipatī	māta-pitushu			shushsha
<i>Shāh</i>	dāsa-bhatakanam	samma-patipatī	mat	pitushu		susushu
<i>Mān</i>	dasa-bhata[kā]si	samyā-patipatī	mata-[pitu]shu			su[su]sha

<i>Gir</i>	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānam	bāmhana-s'rjmanā[nam]	sādhu	da[nam]
<i>Kāl</i>	mita-shamthuta-nāukyānam	śamana-[ba]mbhanānā		[dā]na
<i>Shāh</i>	mi[t]a-samstuta-ñātikānam	śamana-bramanana		dana
<i>Mān</i>	mitra-sam[stuta]-ñātikana	śamana-bramanana		dan[c]

<i>Gir</i>	pranānam	anārambho	sādhu	(/I) eta	vatavyam	pita	va	putrena
<i>Kāl</i>	pānānam	anāl[am]bhe		(/I) eshe	vataṇ[i]ye	pi[t]inā	pi	put[na]
<i>Shāh</i>	pranana	anara[m]bho		(/I) etam	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena
<i>Mān</i>	pranana	[ana]rabhe		(/I) [c]she	vataviye	pituna	pi	putrena

<i>Gir</i>	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[ā]-ñāt[i]k[e]na			va	ava
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	bha[t]inā	pi	śh[a]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-śamthutan	i	avā
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	[spa]mikena	pi	mitra-samstutana		av i
<i>Mān</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	śpamike[na]	pi	mitra-sam[stu]t[c]na		av i

<i>Gir</i>	pativēṣiyehi	ida	sādhu	ida	ka[tav]ya[m]	(/I) so	t[a]tha
<i>Kāl</i>	pi[ā]tivēṣiyen[ā]	iy[ā]m	śādhu	iyam	kataviye	(/I) [ś]e	tatha
<i>Shāh</i>	prativēṣiyena	[i]ma[m]	sādhu	imam	katavo	(/I) so	tatha
<i>Mān</i>	pativēṣiyena	iyam	śa[dhiu]	iyam	kataviye	(/I) s	tatha

<i>Gir</i>	karu	lokachasa		aradho hoti	parata	cha	amnamtam
<i>Kāl</i>	kala[mta]	hidalokikyē	cha	kam āladhe hoti	palata	ch[ā]	anata
<i>Shāh</i>	karata[m]	ialoka	cha	a[ra]kdhēti	paratra	cha	anata
<i>Mān</i>	karata[m]	lu[dalo]ke	[cha] kam	aradhe hoti	pa[ra]ta	cha	ana[m]tam

<i>Gir</i>	punām	bhāvati	tena	dhamma-danena
<i>Kāl</i>	puna	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-dānenā
<i>Shāh</i>	pun i	prasavati	[te]na	dharma-danena
<i>Mān</i>	punam	p[r]asavati	te[na]	dhra[ma]-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(/I) Devānampiye	Piyad[ā]si	rājā	sava-pāsamlāni	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	(/I) [I]evānāpiye	[P]iyadash[i]	lāja	śhāvā-pāsham[clan]i	
<i>Shāh</i>	(/I) Devanampriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashamdan	
<i>Mān</i>	(/I) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashadani	

<i>Gir</i>	[pa]vajjāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
<i>Kāl</i>	pav[ā]jātā[ni]		gahathāni	vā	pujēti	dānena		vividh[ayc]
<i>Shāh</i>	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujēti	danena		vividhaye
<i>Mān</i>	[p]rava[j]ātani		gehathan	cha	pujēti	danc na		vividhaye

<i>Gir</i>	[cha]	pujāya	pūjayati ne	(/I) na	tu	tathā	dānam	va	pū[jā]
<i>Kāl</i>	cha i	puj[ā]ye		(/I) n[o]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh</i>	cha	pujaye		(/I) no	chu	tatha	[dā]na	va	puja
<i>Mān</i>	cha	pujaye		(/I) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja

<i>Gir.</i>	va	D[e]vānampiyō	mamhate	yathā	kiti	sāra-vadhī	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	va	Devāna[m]piye	m[a]nati	athā	k[ɪ]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[ā]llhi	śiyati
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	Devanampriyo	mañati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vadhī	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	va	[De]vana[m]piye	mañati	atha	kiti	sala-vadhī	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	sa[va-pā]śamdānam	(C)	sa[va]-vadhī	tu	bahuvīdhā	(I)	tasa	tu	idam
<i>Kāl.</i>	ś[ā]va-pāśadana	(C)	sala-vadhī	na	bahuvīdhā	(I)	taśa	chu	inam
<i>Shāh.</i>	savra-prashamdanam	(C)	sala-vadhī	tu	bahuvīdhā	(I)	tasa	tu	iyō
<i>Mān.</i>	savra-pashadanam	(C)	sala-vrūdhī	t[u]	bahuvīdhā	(I)	tasa	chu	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	mūlam	ya	vachī guti	kimti	atpa-pasamda-pūja	va	para-	
<i>Kāl.</i>	mule	a	va[chi] guti	kiti	t[ɪ]	ata-pāśada-[v]i puja	va	pala-
<i>Shāh.</i>	mula	yam	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashamda-puja	va	pa[ra]-
<i>Mān.</i>	mule	am	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashada-puja	va	para-

<i>Gir.</i>	pasamda-garahā	va	no	bhave	upakaranamhī	lahuka	va	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	pāśamda galahā	va	no	[śa]ya	a[śa]k[ā]l[ā]naś[ɪ]	lahaka	va	śiya
<i>Shāh.</i>	pashamda-garāna	va	no	siya	[a]pakaranasi	lahuka	va	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	pashada garaha	va	no	siya	apakaranasi	lahuka	va	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	tamhi	tamhi	prakaranē	(Z)	pujē tayā	tu	eva	para-pasamda
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]gi	tasi	pakalan[a]ś[ɪ]	(Z)	pujetav[ɪ]ya	chu		p[ā]lā-pa[śa]lā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasi	tasi	prakara[n]ē	(Z)	pujē taviya	va	chu	para-prashamda
<i>Mān.</i>	tasi	tasi	pakaranasi	(Z)	pujē taviya	va	chu	para-p[ri]shada

<i>Gir.</i>	tena	tana	prakaranena	(F)	evam	karum	atpa-pasamdam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	tena	tena	akalana	(F)	heva	kalata	ata-pāśada	badham
<i>Shāh.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	e[v]am	karatam	ata-p[ri]shamdam	
<i>Mān.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	evam	karatam	atva-pashada	badham

<i>Gir.</i>	vadhayati	para-pasamdasā		cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-annatha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vadhīyati	pala-pāśada	pi	va	upakaleti	(G)	tadā māttha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vadhēti	para-prashamdasī	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tada mātha
<i>Mān.</i>	vadhīyati	para-pashadasa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-annatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karoti	atpa-pāśadam	cha	chhanati	para-pasamdasā	cha	pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kalata	ata-pāśada	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśada	pi	va
<i>Shāh.</i>	ka[ra]m[ɪ]t[ɪ]	ata-p[ri]shamda		kshanati	para-[p]ri-shadasī	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	karatam	ata-pashada	cha	chhanati	para-pashadasa	pi	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	apakaroti	(I)	yo	hi	kechi	atpa-pasamdam	pujayati	para-pasamdam
<i>Kāl.</i>	apakaleti	(I)	ye	[hi]	kechiha	[a]lā-pāśada	punati	pala-pashada
<i>Shāh.</i>	apakaroti	(I)	yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashadam	pujēti	[pua] p[ri]shada[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	apakaroti	(I)	ye	hi	kechihi	atva-pashadā	pujēti	para-pashada

<i>Gir.</i>	v[ā]	garahati	sivam	ātpa-pāśamda-bhatīya		kimti	atpa-pāśamdam
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	ga[ra]hātī	shave	ata-pasham[da]-bhatīya	va	kiti	ata-pashamda
<i>Shāh.</i>		garahati	savre	ata-prashada bhatīya	va	kiti	ata-prashamdam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	garahati	savre	atva-pashada-bhatīya	va	liti	atva-pashada

<i>Gur.</i>	dipayema	iti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karato	ātpa-pāsamda[m]	bādhatarām
<i>Kāl.</i>	[d]ipayema	she	cha	punā	tathā	ḥ	kalamtam	ḥ	bādhatale
<i>Shāh</i>	dipayamā	ti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karāmtam	ḥ	ba[dhata]rām
<i>Mān</i>	dipayama	ti	.	.	.	puna	karatam		badhataram

<i>Gir.</i>	upahanāti	(/)	ta	samavāyo	eva	sādhu	kimti	[a]ñāmanāsa
<i>Kāl.</i>	ata-pāshamdashī	(/)		shamavāye	vu	shādhu	kiti	amnamanashā
<i>Shāh</i>	ata-prashadām	(/)	so	sayamo	vo	sadhu	kiti	añamañasa
<i>Alāu</i>	atva-pasha[da]	(/)	se	samavaye	vo	sadhu	ki[ti]	anamanasa

<i>Gir.</i>	dhammam	śrūnāru	cha	susūmaera	cha	(ʔ)	evam	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhammam	ḥ	shunc[y]	chā	shushusheyu	cha	ti	(ʔ) hevam
<i>Shāh</i>	dhrāmo	śrūnceyu	cha	suśrusheyu	cha	ti	(ʔ)	evam
<i>Alāu</i>	dhrāmam	śrunc[ē]ḥ	[u]	chā	suśrushe[yu]	cha	ti	(ʔ) evam

<i>Gir.</i>	D[c]vānampiyasa	ichhā	kimti	sava-pāsamdā	bahu-srutā	cha	asū
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devanampiyasha	ichhā	kimti	sava-pāshamda	baha-shutā	chā	
<i>Shāh</i>	Devanampriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-prashamda	bahu-śruta	ch[ā]	
<i>Alāu</i>	Devanapriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-pashadla	bahu-śruta	cha	

<i>Gir.</i>	kal[ā]nāgamā	cha	[a]ḥ	(K') ye	cha	tatra	tata	prasatīhā			
<i>Kāl.</i>	kayanāgā	cha	ḥ	huveyu	ti	(K) e	[cha]	tata	t[ā]t[ā]	ḥ	[a]bh[am]nā
<i>Shāh</i>	kal[ana]gama	cha	siyasu	(K') ye	cha	tatra	tatra	prasana			
<i>Alāu</i>	kayanagama	cha	[hu]veyu	ti	(K) e	cha	tatra	tatrā	prasana		

<i>Gir.</i>	tehi	vatavyam	(/)	Devānampiyo	no	tathā	dānam	va	pūjāḥ
<i>Kāl.</i>	te[hi]	va[taviye]	(/)	Devānapiye	no	tathā	dānam	va	pūjā
<i>Shāh</i>	tesha[m]	vatavo	(/)	Devanampriy[o]	na	[tatha	da]na[m]	va	[p[u]ja
<i>Alāu</i>	tehi	vataviye	(/)	Devanapiye	no	tatha	danam	va	puja[m]

<i>Gir</i>	va	mamāate	yatha	kimti	sara-vadhi	asa	sarva-pāśadanam	
<i>Kāl</i>	vā	mamnat[ī]	ḥ	athā	kiti	sh[ā]lā-v[ā]lhi	śryā	shava-pāshamdatim
<i>Shāh</i>	va	mañatī	yathā	kiti	sala-vadhi	siyatī	savva-prashadanam	
<i>Alāu</i>	va	manatī	athā	kiti	sala-vadhi	siya	savva-pashad[na]	

<i>Gir.</i>	(/)	bahakā	cha	etāya	atha	vjāpatā	dhamma-mahāmātā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(/)	bahukā	ch[ā]	etāyāthāye		viyāpatā	dha[ra]ma-mahāmātā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(/)	bahuka	cha	etaye	a[thā]	vaj[ā]ta	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra	
<i>Alāu.</i>	(/)	[ba]huka	cha	etaye	athraye	vajuta	dhrāma-mahamatra	

<i>Gir.</i>	itihyakha-mahāmātā	cha	vacha-bhūmika	cha	añe	cha	nikāyā
<i>Kāl.</i>	itidhiyakha-mahāmātā	ḥ	vacha-bh[u]mikyā	ḥ	ane	vā	[n]iky[ā]y[ā]
<i>Shāh</i>	istridhiyaksha-ma[ha]matra		[vra]cha-bhumik	ḥ	añe	cha	nikaye
<i>Alāu.</i>	istrijaksha-mahamatra		vracha-bh[u]mika		añe	cha	nikay[e]

The five last words are repeated thus so cha puna tatha karato.

<i>Gur</i>	(N)	ayam	cha	etasa	phala	ya	ātpa-pāsamda-vadhī	cha	hoti
<i>Kāl</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etivha	phale	yam	ata-pāshamda-vadhī	chā	hoti
<i>Shāh</i>	(N)	imam	cha	etisa	[pha]lam	yam	ata-pashada-vadhī		[bh]o[tu]
<i>Mān</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etisa	phale	yam	atva-pashada-vadhī	cha	bh[o]t[ti]

<i>Gir.</i>	dhummasa	cha	di[pa]nā
<i>Kāl</i>	dhammasha	chā	dipara
<i>Shāh</i>	dhramasa	cha	di[pana]
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramasa	cha	[di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(A)					
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	atha-|va|shā-|bhishita|shā	[Th]vanampryash	Piyadashine	lapine	
<i>Shāh</i>	(A)	|atha|-vasha-a|[bhis]ta|sa	Dvama|pr[a]sa	Pr[a]draśa	ra[ño]	
<i>Mūn</i>	(A)	|atha|-vashabhishita|sa	Dv[va]na|priyasa	Priyadraśine	lapine	

<i>Gīr</i>	Kaṁgā	[v j]	(B)		
<i>Kāl</i>	Kaṁga	vijñā	(B)	diyaḍha-mūc	pana-sh-ut[a]-shaha[ʒ]e | yē
<i>Shāh</i>	Kaṁga	vijñā	(B)	diyaḍha-ma[ʒ]e	prana-śata[ʒ]a[ʒ]re | yē
<i>Alān</i>	Kaṁga	[v jñā]	(B)	[di]ya[ʒ]a[ʒ]a[ʒ]-ma[ʒ]e	prana [ʒata sa]

<i>Gir</i>	[v dh]	[sa]ta sahasra-matram	tatrā	hatam	bahu-tāvataṭakam	
<i>Kāl</i>	[ta]phā	apavudhī	[śa]ta [sha]ḥasha mite	tata	hate	bahu-tāvataṭake
<i>Shāh</i>	lato	apavudhī	śata-sahasra-matre	tatra	hate	bahu-tavata[ḥe]
<i>Māu</i>						

<i>Gur</i>		mata	(ʿ)	tata	pachhā	a[h]u[nā]	ladhu su	Kalngesu
<i>Kāl</i>	vā	mate	(C)	tut[o]	pa[h]ha	adhunā	ladhu sha	Kalngyeshu
<i>Shāh</i>	[va]	m[ute]	(C)	tuto	[pa]ha	a[dhu]na	ladh[ɛ]shu	[Kalngeshu]
<i>Mān</i>		[ma]te	(C)	[tuto]	pachu	adhuna	ladhu[ɛ]shu	Kalngeshu

<i>Gi</i>	ti[v]o	dhammavayo			
<i>Kāl</i>	tive i	dhamma[<i>vāy</i>]*	dhamma[kā]mata i	dhammānussathā	cha i
<i>Shāh</i>	[t]ivie	dharma-śilana]	dhra[ma-kā]mata	dhrāmānussati	cha
<i>Māu</i>	ti[vr]c	dharma[va]c		[dhi]amanu[si]sti	[cha]

<i>Gṛ</i>	.			[sa]yo	Devanampriyasa
<i>Kāl</i>	Devanampiyasāḥ	(/)	sh[ɛ]	athī	anuslaye
<i>Shāh</i>	Devanapriyasa	(/)	so	[ɪ]stī	Devanampiyā[sh]u
<i>Mān</i>	[Dɛ]vānā[prɪ]	(/)			anusochana

Gur [v. j] . [va]khe
Kāl vijn[ʃu] | Kaligāmi | (/) avijitām | hi | vijñamane | e | tata | vadhā
Shāh vijniti | Kaligā[ni] | (/) avijitām | [hi | vijñamano | yo | tat[r] | vadhā
Mān .

<i>Gir</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	..chate	te[s]a[m]	Devānaṁpiyasa . . .
<i>Kāl</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	anutape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanaṁpriyasa	vuchati	tesha	kiti
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	[anu]tape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanapriyasa	vuchati	[te]sha	[ki]..

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sava-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	[ney]u	(O)	ichha	.	sha[va]-
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	avatrapeyu	na	cha	[ha]mñeyasu	(O)	ichhati	hi	D[e]vanaṁpriyo savra-
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	(O)	chha	.	vanapri[y.]

<i>Gir</i>	bhūtānām	achhatim	cha	sayamañ	cha	samachairam	ch[a]	mādava	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	[bhu]	.	.	.	[shayama	shamacha]	liya[rñ]	madava	ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhutana	akshati	sa[m]	yamam	sama[cha]	riyam		rabhasiye	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(P)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(P)	iyam	vu	mu	.	.	Devānampiyeshā	ye	dha[rñ]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(P)	ayi	cha	mukha-mut[a]	vijaye	Devanaṁpriya[s]	yo	dhrama-	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	[mukha]mute	v[i]jaye	D[e]vanapriyasa	ye	dhrama-	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[la]dh[o]	.	.	nampriyasa	idha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sh[e]	cha	punā	ladhe	Devāna[m]	.	.	cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijayo	(Q)	so	cha	puna	ladho	Devanaṁpriyasa	iha	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sc	cha	[puna]	la[dh]e	[Deva]napri[ya]sa	hida	cha	

<i>Gir</i>	[sa]vesu	[ch.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	shaveshu	cha	ateshu	a	shashu	pi	[yo]jana-shateshu	at[a]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	saveshu	cha	añteshu	[a]	shashu	pi	yojana-śa[t]eshu	yatra	
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vr]eshu	cha	añteshu	a	shashu	pi	y[o]a[na-śa][c]eshu	.	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	[Yo]na-rāja	param	cha	tena	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	Atiyoge	nām[a]	Yo[na-lā]..	[pa]lām	chā	tenā	A[rñ]tiyogenā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	Añtiyoko	nama	Yo[na-raja]	param	cha	tena	Atiyok[e]na		
<i>Mān.</i>	tiyo[ge]	nama	Yo[na-]raja]	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	chatpāro	rājāno	Turamāyo	cha	[A]m[ek]jina	cha	Magā
<i>Kāl</i>	chatālī	4 lajānc	Tulamaye	[nā]m[a]	Añteki[ne	nā]ma	Makā
<i>Shāh.</i>	chature	4 rajani	Turamaye	nama	Añtikini	nama	Maka
<i>Mān</i>	.	.	.	.	Añt[e].	[nama	Ma]ka

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nāma	Alikyashudale	nāma	nicham	Choda-Pamdiyā	avam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	nama	Alikasudaro	nama	nicha	Choda-Pamḍa	ava	
<i>Mān.</i>	na[ma]	Alikasudare	nama	nicha	Choda-Pamḍiya	a	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	idha	rāja-vi[sa]yamhi
<i>Kāl</i>	Tambapamniyā	hevamev[ā]	(R)	hevamevā	[hi]dā	lā[ja]-viśavashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya	.	(R)	[e]vameva	[hi]da	raja-vishavaspi	
<i>Mān</i>	Tambapa[m]niya	.	(R)	evameva	[hida]	raja-vishava[s]	

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	[Y]o[na]-Kambo		
<i>Kāl.</i>	Yona-Kambojeshu	Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu	Bhoja-Pitinikyē[sh]u
<i>Shāh.</i>	Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu	Nabhaka-Nabhitina	Bhoja-Pitinikeshu
<i>Mān.</i>	Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu]	Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu	[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu

<i>Gir.</i>	mdhra-Pāṃdeshu	savata	Devānampiyasa	dhammānusa[st]im
<i>Kāl.</i>	[Adha]-P[a]lade[sh]u	[sha]vatā	[D]evā[na]mp[īya]shā	dhammānu[sha]thi
<i>Shāh.</i>	Amhdra-Palideshu	savatra	Devanampriyasa	dhramanuśasti
<i>Mān.</i>	Adha-[Pa]	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anuv[a]tare	(S) yata	pi dūti	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) y[a]ta	pi dutā	Devāna[mp]iyasa no yamti t[ce] pi
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) yatia	pi	Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi
<i>Mān.</i>	.	(S) [yatra]	pi du[ta]	[De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi

<i>Gir.</i>	.	[na]m	dhammānusaṣṭim
<i>Kāl.</i>	sutu Dev[āna]mp[ī]namya	dh[amma]-vutam	v[i]dh[a]na[m] dhammānusa[th]
<i>Shāh.</i>	śrutu Devanampriyasa	dhrama-vuṭam	vidh[a]nam dhramanuśasti
<i>Mān.</i>	śrutu Devanapriyasa	dhrama-vuta	vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti

<i>Gir.</i>	cha dhamam	anuvidhiyare	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	dha[m]ma[m]	anuvidhiyama	[a]nuvidhiyāsama [ch]a (I) ye se
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrmam	[a]nuvidhiyamti	anuvidhiyāsam[ti] cha (I) yo [sa]
<i>Mān.</i>	dhra[m]ma[m]	anuvidhiyamti	[a]nuvidhiy[ī]samti cha (I) [ye se]

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	[v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo
<i>Kāl.</i>	[la]dhe etakenā	hoti savatā	vi[ja]ye
<i>Shāh.</i>	ladhe etakena	bho[ti] savatra	vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo
<i>Mān.</i>	ladhe e[ta]kc[na]	ho[ti] savra[tra]	vi[jaye]

<i>Gir.</i>	piti-raso	sā (U) ladhā	sā pīti	hoti	dhamma-vijayamhi
<i>Kāl.</i>	piti-lase	se (U) gadhā	sā hoti	piti piti	dhamm[a]-vijayashi
<i>Shāh.</i>	piti-raso	so (U) ladha	bh[oti]	piti	dhrama-vijayaspi
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(V) lahuṇā	v[u]	kho sa	piti (IV) pālamtikyameve	maha-phalā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(V) lahuka	tu	kho sa	piti (W) paratri[kā]meva	maha-phala
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	(IV) paratrikameva	maha-phala

<i>Gir.</i>	.	m[p]riyo (Λ) etā[ya]	atha[ya]	ayam	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	mamnam[ti]	Dev[ē]nam[p]riye (X) etāye	chā athāye	iyam	dha[m]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	meṇati	Devana[m]priyo (Λ) etāye	cha athāye	ayi	dhrma-
<i>Mān.</i>	[ma]nati	De[va]napri[ye] (Λ) e[ta]ye	cha [a]thray[e]	iyam	dhramma-

<i>Gir.</i>	[i]	.	.	[va]m	vijayam	ma
<i>Kāl.</i>	līpi	likhitā	kiti	putā	papotā	me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma
<i>Shāh.</i>	dīpi	nīpī[sta]	kiti	putra	papotra	me a[su] navam vijayam ma
<i>Mān.</i>	dīpi	lī[khi]ta	kiti	putra	prap[ot]ra	me a[su] nava[m] v[i]

<i>Gir</i>	vijetavyam	maññā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashi	no	vi[ja]yashī	khamti	chā	la hu-
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijetav[i]a	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[c]	ksham]ti	cha	lahu-
<i>Mān.</i>	[tavi]yam	mañ[ishu	saya]					

<i>Gir</i>								
<i>Kāl.</i>	damdatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā	vijayam	manatu	ye
<i>Shāh.</i>	da[m]data	cha	rochetu	tañ	cha	yō	vija	maña[tu]
<i>Mān.</i>								

<i>Gir</i>				kik[o]	ch[a	pā]r[alo]ki[ko]		
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-vijaye	(Y) she	hidaloikiya			palalokiye	(Z) shavā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dharma-vijayo	(Y) so	hidaloikiko			paralokiko	(Z) sava-	
<i>Mān.</i>		(Y) . .	hidaloike			paralokike	(Z) sava	

<i>Gir</i>								
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	ka	nlati	hot[u]		uyāma-lati	(A) shā	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	chatī-ratī			bhotu	ya	[dh]rañma-rati	(A) sa	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	[ka]	nirati	hotu	ya	dharma-rati	(A) sa	hi

<i>Gir</i>	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	hi[da]lokika		pa[la]lokikyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	hidaloikika		paralokika	
<i>Mān.</i>	[i]haloki[ka]		paraloki[ka]	

FOURTEENTH RQCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) ayam	dhamma-lipi	Devānampriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ññā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) iyam	dhama-lipi	Dev[āna]mp[ī]y[e]n]ā	[P]riyadasinā	lajinā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) ayi	dhrama-dipi	Devanampriyena	Pri[na]	rañña
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [i]yam	dhrama-dipi	De[va]napriyena	Pri[ya]	[jina]
<i>Dhan.</i>	(A) iyam	dhamma-lipi	De[v]ānapriyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lā[jinā]
<i>Jau.</i>					

<i>Gir.</i>	l[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	samkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
<i>Kāl.</i>	likhāpitā	athi	yevā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athi	vithaṭṭenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nipesapita	asti	vo	samkshitenā	asti	yo		vistritena
<i>Mān.</i>	[l]khapita]							
<i>Dhan.</i>	[likhā]				athi	ma[jh]imena]		
<i>Jau.</i>						[ma]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithatena

<i>Gir</i>	(B) na	cha	sarvam	[sa]rvata	ghaṭṭam	(C) mahālake	hi	vijitam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭite	(C) mahalake	hi	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>								
<i>Dhan.</i>	(B)	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye
<i>Jau.</i>	(B) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye

<i>Gir</i>	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayisam	cheva	(D)	asti	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśāmī	cheva	nikyam	(D)	athi chā
<i>Shāh</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[pe]śamī	cheva		(D)	asti chu
<i>Mān</i>	.		[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mī	che[va]	ni	(D)	[asti chu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bahu[k]r	cha	likhite	likhiyis	.	.	(D)	[a]thi
<i>Ṭau</i>								

<i>Gir</i>	eta	kam	puna	puna	vitam	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhuratāya
<i>Kāl</i>	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]it[c]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
<i>Shāh</i>	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitam	tasa	tasa	[a]thasa	madhuliyāye
<i>Mān</i>	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[p]ite	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyāye
<i>Dhau.</i>	.				[vu]te	ta[sa]			[y]āy[e]
<i>Ṭau.</i>							[sa]		madhuliyāy

<i>Gir</i>	kimti		jano	tathā	patipajetha	(E)			tatra
<i>Kāl</i>	yena		jane	tathā	patipajeyā	(E)	she	shāyā	ata
<i>Shāh</i>	ye[na]		jana	tatha	patipajeyā	(E)	so	siya	va atra
<i>Mān</i>	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	patipajeyā	(E)	se	[si]ya	atra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[k]imti	cha	[a]ne	tathā	patipajeyā	ti	(E)	e	pu chu heta
<i>Ṭau</i>	kimt[i]	cha	jane	tatha	patipajeyā	ti	(E)	e	pu chu heta

<i>Gir</i>	ekada	asamat[ā]m	likhita[m]	asa	desam	va	sachhāya	[kā]janam	va
<i>Kāl</i>	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite	dishā	vā	shamkheye	kālanam	vā	
<i>Shāh</i>	kiche	asamatam	likhitam	deśam	va	samkha[y]a	karana	va	
<i>Mān</i>	ki[chhi]	.	[t]	likhi[t.]	.	va	[samkha]ya		
<i>Dhau.</i>		asamati	likhit[e s]	sam			[lochay]tu		
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gir</i>	[a]lochetpā	lipikaraparadhena	va		
<i>Kāl</i>	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapālādheha	vā		
<i>Shāh</i>	alocheti	dipikarasa	va	aparadhena	
<i>Mān</i>					
<i>Dhau.</i>		k[a]l[a]	[t]		
<i>Ṭau</i>					

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devāna]m[pi]y[asa]	vacha]nena	Tosalayam	ma[hā]māta
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	Dev[ā]nampiyē	he[va]m	[ā]hā	(B) Sam[ā]piyam mahāmāta

<i>Dhau.</i>	[nag]a[la-fv][yo]halak[a]	va]taviya	(B)	[am	kichhi	dakh i]mī
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[ua]gala-viyohālaka	he[vam	va]lav[i]y[ā]	(C)	am	kichhi dakhāmī

<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	tam	ichhāmī	k[i]m[t]	kam[mana	pa]u[pā]dayeham
<i>Ṭau</i>	ha[kā]m	[tam]	ichhām[i]	k]imti	kam	kamana pa]tipātayeham

Dhan. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]
Ṭau. duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

Dhan. [etasī aṭha]sī am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-
Ṭau. [a]m tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

Dhan. sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam] ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam
Ṭau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

Dhan. (E) save munise paja mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]
Ṭau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

Dhan. [kimti sa]v[e]na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]
Ṭau. [kiñ]ṭ[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[ḡ]k[ā]-pālalokikena

Dhan. [ti] [tathā . . muni]sesu pi [i]chhami [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha
Ṭau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[ē]u (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhan. pāpunātha āv[a]ga[m]u[k]e [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-
Ṭau. [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yam aṭhe (I) kechā eka-

Dhan. puli[sē] . . . nāti e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (J) de[kha]ṭ[a] hi
Ṭau. [muni]s[ē] pā[p]unāti se pi desam no savam (J) dakhatha hi

Dhan. [ti]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]ṭiyam eka-pulise [pi athi] y[ē]
Ṭau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye etu eka-munise

Dhan. bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā
Ṭau. ba[m]dhanam palī[kile]-am [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]ṭi aka[sm]ā

Dhan. tēna badhana[m]u[k]a amne cha hu jane da[v]iye
Ṭau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]u[k]a anye cha [va]ḡe bahuke

Dhan. dukhiyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kimti m[a]ham paṭipādayamā
Ṭau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]ṭipādayam[n]

Dhan. ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh] no sampaṭipajati iṣāya āsulopena
Ṭau. (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipajati i[sā]ya āsulopena

Dhan. ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena
Ṭau. [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] tūlāya [a]nāv[ū]tiya āla[s]y[ē]na ki]lamath[ē]na

Dhan. (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]jā
Ṭau. (O) hevam ichhit[ā]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] njo hveyu

Dhan. ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha
Ṭau. ti (P) savasa chu iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[ē] atulanā cha

Dhan. (P) nitī[ya]m e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Ṭau. (Q) nī[ti]yam [ē]yam k[il]amte [siya] . . . samchalitu uthāy[ā]

Dhau. sarñchalitaviy[e] tu va[t̪ita[v̪i]y[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevammeva
Ṭau. samchalitavaye tu v̪a[t̪ita]viya [pi] etaviye pī nī[t̪i]yam (K) eve

Dhau. e da[kheya] t̪[u]phak[a] tena vataviye ānamne dekhatta
Ṭau. dakh[e]yā āna[m]ne nīhap[e]ta[v̪i]yē

Dhau. hevam cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṃpiyasa anusathī (K) se
Ṭau. heva[m] heva[m] cha Devānam[p̪i]j[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m

Dhau. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t̪[a]sa [sampa]t̪ipāda mahā-apāye asampat̪ipatī
Ṭau. [sampa]t̪ipā[ta]yam kam mahā-phale hoti asampat̪ipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhau. (S) [vi]pat̪i[n̪]pādayamīne hi etam nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no laj[a]a[dh]
Ṭau. (T) vipat̪ipādayamtam no svag[a]-āladhi no lajadhi

Dhau. (T) duā[ha]le hī i[m]a]sa kamm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]atuleke
Ṭau. (U) du[ā]hale t̪asa [kam]masa sa me k[u]t̪e ma[n̪]o-at̪i]e[kc]

Dhau. (U) sa[m]pat̪ipajam[i]n̪[c] chu [eta]m svaga[m] ālādha[yi]sa[tha]
Ṭau. (V) [eta]m sampa[ti]pajamine mama] cha ānaneyam esatha

Dhau. [mama cha a]nanīyam ehatha (V) iyam cha l̪i[p̪i] t̪i[na-na]kha]t̪ena
Ṭau. svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (U) iyam chā l̪i[p̪i] anutisam

Dhau. so[t̪a]viy[ā] (IV) aṃta[l̪ā] [p̪i] cha [t̪i]s[e]na kha]nasi kha[nas]
Ṭau. sot̪a]v̪i]yā (V) [a]lā [p̪i] kha[n̪e]na sota[v̪i]yā

Dhau. ckena pī sotaviya (X) hevam cha kalamtam tuphe chaghatta
Ṭau. ck[a]k[e]na pī (Y) m[i]ne ch[aghatta]

Dhau. sampa[t̪i]pād[a]j̪[i]t̪ave (Y) [e]k[ā]ye athāye iya[m l̪i]p̪i likhit[a h̪i]da ena
Ṭau. t̪ave (Z) etāye cha ath[a]y iyam [l̪i]khitā [l̪i]p̪i ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]n̪[hā]lakā sas[v̪]atam samayam yujevū t̪i
Ṭau. mahāmātā naḡalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m [eta]m yu[ḷ]key[u] t̪i ena

Dhau. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]l̪ibodhe va [a]k[a]smā pahik̪i]e[s]c va no siya
Ṭau. [mun]i[ā]nam [a] ne [pa]l̪i[k̪i]

Dhau. ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhaye haka[m] . . . mate p̪[a]mchasa pamchasa
Ṭau. ye [pa]mchasa pamchasa

Dhau. [va]sesu [n̪i]k[hā]may[i]n̪āmi e akhakhase a[cham]k̪i[e]
Ṭau. va[sesu] anu[s]ayānam nikhāma[y]isami mahāmāta[m] achamūla[m]

Dhau. s[a]k̪hinālabhe hosatī etam atham janitu [ta]tha kala[m]ti
Ṭau. apha[usa]m ta

Dhau. aṭha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujēnīte pī chu kumāle etāye
Ṭau. pī kumāle [v̪i] ta

Dhau. aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] hedisameva vagam no cha atikāmayisati
ṭau. m[ayī]

Dhau. timni vasāni (B) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pī (CC) [a]dā a
ṭau. [lā]ṭe

Dhau. te mahāmātā nikhāmisamti anusayānam tadā ahāpayitu atane
ṭau. vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānam n[ikha]m[ī]śan[ti] a[ta]ne

Dhau. kammam etam pī jānisamti tam pī ta[th]ā kalamti
ṭau. ka[mma]m . . [yitu] tam pī tathā kalamti

Dhau. a[tha] lājine anusathi ti
ṭau. [athā]

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) Devānampiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha
ṭau. (A) Devānampiye hevam ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyam mahamatā

Dhau. vataviya (B) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam] tam i . . .
ṭau. [ā]ṇa-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakam tam i[chh]āmi

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa
ṭau. hakam k[im]ti kam kamana paṭipātayeham duvā[la]te cha ālabheham (D) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi am tuphe[s]u . . .
ṭau. cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasā a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

Dhau. mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam ki[rh]ti
ṭau. (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṁti me

Dhau. savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti
ṭau. saveṇā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū¹ ti hidalogika-pālalokik[ā]na

Dhau. h[e]v[am] (F) siyā amtānam avijitānam
ṭau. hevammeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā amtānam [a]vijitānam

Dhau. ki-chha[mde] su lājā [ap]hesu . . (G) . . m[a]va ichha mama amtesu
ṭau. kiṁ-chhāmde su lājā apheśu ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu

Dhau. . . . [p]āpunevu te iti Devānamp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ī]na mamāye
ṭau. pāpunevu lājā hevaṁ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[ḡ]na hve[yū]

Dhau. huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e]
ṭau. mamīyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukham[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

Dhau. no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne
ṭau. [n]o kha[m] hevam cha pāpunevu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

¹ The last eight words are repeated thus [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁ[ti] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujevū

Dhau. Devānampiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam [va]
Yau. lājā e s[ā]kiye khamitave mamam nimitam

Dhau. cha dhammam chalevū hīdaloka palaloka[m] cha
Yau. cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hīdalog[am] cha palalogam cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
Yau. ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakam tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakam anusāsītu chhamdam cha veditu
Yau. ana[n]e eta[k]ena [h]akam tupheni a[nu]sāsītu chhamda[m] cha v[ed]i[tu]

Dhau. ā [hi] dh[ī] patimā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) v[e] hevam katu
Yau. ā mama dhiti patimā cha achala (Y) sa hevam [ka]tū

Dhau. kaṁme chal[i]q[ā]v[i]e asv[ā]sa . . . [cha] tāni cna
Yau. k[am]me [cha]lītavīye asvāsā[n]yā [h]a te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū itti atha pita tatha Devānampiye aphāka atha cha
Yau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānam hvam Devānampiye [a]nukampati aphe athā cha pajā
Yau. [a]tānam anukampat[i] hvam a[ph]eni anuka[m]pātī athā pajā

Dhau. hevam may[e] D[ē]vanampiyasa (Y) se hakam anusāsītu [chha]mda[m]
Yau. hevaṁ [may]e lā[i]ne (K) tūpheni hakam anusāsita [chh]āmdam

I huu ch[a] veditu tu[phāk]a desāvutike
Yau. [cha] v[e]d[ī]ta [ā]ma dhiti patī[m]nā chā achala [saka]lā-desā āy[ut]ike

Dhau. hosāmi ctāye athāye (K) paṭibala hi tūph[e] asvāsānāye hita-
Yau. hosāmi ct[a]yā [a]thāyā (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsā[n]ayē h[ī]ta-

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hīdalokika-pālalo[k]kāye (L) hevam cha
Yau. sukhāye [cha] te[s]a[m] hīdalogi[k]a-ī[ā]l[o]k[ā]y[e] (M) hevam cha

Dhau. kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādhāyāpātha mama ch[a] anāyāmi
Yau. kalamtam svaga[m] cha ālādhayāp[ā]tha mama cha anā[n]yāmi

Dhau. ehatha (M) ctāye cha athāye iyam lipi līkhitā hūla e[na]
Yau. es[ā]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āyē i[y]am lipi lī[kh]itā h[ī]da e[na]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa[ma] yujisamti a[va]sānāyē dhamma-
Yau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvatam samam yujjyū asvasānāyē cha dhamma

Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānam (N) iyam cha lipi [anu]chātummasam
Yau. chala[n]āyē [cha] amā[n]am (O) iyam cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]asam

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kamam chu [kha]nas[i] khanasi
Yau. s[ota]vīyā tisena (P) amta[lā] ti cha sotaviyā

Dhau. aṁtālā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]kaviya (P) hevaṁ kala[m]taṁ
Yau. (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [so]ta[m]i[ya] (R) heva[m] cha [ka]la[m]ta[m]

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave
Yau. chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayi[av]e

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena
Nand (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena
All. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Ar me iyaṁ dhamma-lip[i] likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Nand me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Rām. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
All. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye

Tōp. aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[su]sāyā
Ar. amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāyā
Nand amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā
Rām amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā
All amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā

Tōp. aḡena bhayenā aḡena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Ar. aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All aḡena bhayena a[ḡ]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

Tōp. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vadhitā vadhisati cheva
Ar dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva
Nand dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva
Rām dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva
All dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisati ch[e]vā

Tōp (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā
Ar (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Nand (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Rām (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
All (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

Tōp anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave
Ar. anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave
Nand anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave
Rām anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave
All anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave

<i>Top.</i>	(F) hemevā	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) eṣa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>									
<i>Ar.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) eṣā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) eṣā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) eṣā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	(F) hemmeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) eṣā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena

<i>Top.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>	...[naṁ]	dhammen[a]	v[i]dh[āne]	dha[me]		
<i>Ar.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukh[i]yana	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dha[m]m[e]na	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena

<i>Top.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.
<i>Ar.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	goti	ti
<i>All.</i>	[gut]i	[ti cha]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Top.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A) De[vā]n[ā]m[pi]ye	Piyadasi	laja	[hevam	ā].	(B) dh[am]me	s[ā]dh[u]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>All.</i>	(A) Devānampiyce	Piyadasi	lajā	hevam	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū

<i>Top.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Mīr.</i>	k[īya]m	.	[m]e	ti	(C) a[pā]sīnave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Ar.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>Nand.</i>	kiya	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sach
<i>Rām.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>All.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dane	sacht

<i>Top.</i>	sochaye	(I)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada	
<i>Mīr.</i>	sochaye	(D)	[chakhu-dā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	du[pa]da	
<i>Ar.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>Nand.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>Rām.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>All.</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada	

<i>Top.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>Mīr.</i>	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichale[su	viv[ī]dhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	a pana-
<i>Ar.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna
<i>Nand.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>Rām.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>All.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	a pana

<i>Top.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Mir.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni	kayānāni]	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Ar.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Nand.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Rām.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>All.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye

<i>Top.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevam	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Mir.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . .	anupaṭipajamtu	chil[am]-
<i>Ar.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevam	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Nand.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevam	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Rām.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevam	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>All.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevam	anupaṭipajamtu	chila-

<i>Top.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	ti	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevam	samṭapaṭipajisati	se
<i>Mir.</i>	[th]itikā	cha	hot[ū]	tī	tī	(H)	ye	[cha]	. . . .	. . . [sa]tī	se
<i>Ar.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevam	samṭapaṭipajisati	se
<i>Nand.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevam	samṭapaṭipajisati	se
<i>Rām.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevam	samṭapaṭipajisati	se
<i>All.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevam	samṭapaṭipajisati	se

<i>Top.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	ti
<i>Mir.</i>	sukaṭam	ka[chha]tī	tī
<i>Ar.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>Nand.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>Rām.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>All.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Top.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhati
<i>Mir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B)	kayānamm[eva	de] . . .
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	kayānammeva	dckhamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhamti
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	kayānameva	dekhati

<i>Top.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	d[c]khati	iyam	me
<i>Mir.</i>	. . .	kayānc	kaṭe	tī	tī	(C)	no	min[ā]	pāpam	dekhati	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dckhamti	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>All.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpakam	dekhati	iyam	me

<i>Top.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Mir.</i>	pāp[e	kate	tī	iyam	va]	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	[du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Ar.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Nand.</i>	pape	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Rām.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>All.</i>	pāpake	kate	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	esā	(<i>Ī</i>)	hevam	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(<i>Ā</i>)	imāni	āsinava-gāminī	nama
<i>Mir.</i>	esā	(<i>Ī</i>)	hevam	chu	kho	[esa	de]khiye	(<i>Ā</i>)	imāni	āsinav[a-gāminī]	nama
<i>Ar.</i>	esa	(<i>Ī</i>)	hevam	clu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(<i>Ā</i>)	imāni	āsinava-gāminī	nāma
<i>Nand.</i>	esa	(<i>Ī</i>)	hevam	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(<i>Ā</i>)	imāni	āsinava-gāminī	nāmā
<i>Rām.</i>	esa	(<i>Ī</i>)	hevam	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(<i>Ā</i>)	imāni	āsinava-gāminī	nāma

<i>Top.</i>		atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Mir</i>		atha	cham[ī]ye	ni[thū]li[y]e	k[o]dhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
<i>Ar</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Nand</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Rām.</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va

<i>Top.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	(G)	esa	badha	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Mir.</i>	hakam	mā	palibha[say][sa]m	(G)	. .	bā[dham]	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Ar.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	ti	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	ti	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	

<i>Tōp.</i>	hidatikaye	iyammana	me	pālatikaye	
<i>Mir.</i>	[hi]dat[ī]kāye	iyam	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Ar.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Nand</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>Ā</i>)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	l[ā]ja	hevam	āhā	(<i>B</i>)	saduvisati-vasa-abhisitenā
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>Ā</i>)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(<i>B</i>)	saduvisati-vasābhisitenā
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>Ā</i>)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(<i>B</i>)	saduvisati-vasābhisitenā
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>Ā</i>)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(<i>B</i>)	saduvisati-vasābhisitenā

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(<i>C</i>)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Ar.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(<i>C</i>)	lajukā	me	bahusu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Nand.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhapita	(<i>C</i>)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Rām.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhapita	(<i>C</i>)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu

<i>Tōp.</i>	janasi	āyata	(<i>D</i>)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	vā	damde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Ar.</i>	janasi	āyata	(<i>D</i>)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]mde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Nand.</i>	janasi	ayata	(<i>D</i>)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Rām.</i>	janasi	āyata	(<i>D</i>)	tesam	ye	abhihale	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	kate	kimti	lajukā	asvatha	abhitā	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Ar.</i>	kate	kimti	lajuka	asvatha	abhita	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Nand.</i>	kaṭe	kimti	lajūka	asvatha	abhita	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Rām.</i>	kaṭe	kimti	lajūka	asvatha	abhita	kammāni	pavatayevu	ti	janasa

<i>Tōp.</i>	jānapadasā	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	chā	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Ar.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Nand.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Rām.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Ar.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Nand.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Rām.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam

<i>Tōp.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevu		(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Ar.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Nand.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	(G)	pulis[ā]ni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Rām.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	mam	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Mir.</i>									[ka]	chaghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	mam	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	mam	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	mam	lajūkā	chaghamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	atha	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Mir.</i>	[ā]lādha[y][tave]	(I)						tu	asvathe
<i>Ar.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Nand.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Rām.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe

<i>Tōp.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	hevaṃ
<i>Mir.</i>	[ho]ti	vi[ya]						[I]haṭave	hev[am]
<i>Ar.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	mamā	lajūkā	katā	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Mir.</i>	[mam]ā	[la]jūk[a]					ye	(Y)	yen[a]
<i>Ar.</i>	mama	lajūka	kata	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Nand.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Rām.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhitā

<i>Tōp.</i>	asvatha	samtam	avimanā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Mir.</i>	asvatha	sam			[pa]vatayev[ū]	ti	[e]te[na]
<i>Ar.</i>	asvathā	samtam	achhimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Nand.</i>	asvathā	samtam	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Rām.</i>	asvathā	samtam	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena

<i>Top.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abh[i]hāle	va	damde	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Mir.</i>	me	[laj]ū[kā]n[am]	.	.	.	.	ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	me	lajūkānam	[a]bhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kate
<i>Rām.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>All.</i>	.	[kānam	abhihāle	vā	damde	vā	ata-pa]t[i]y[e	kaṭe]

<i>Top.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Mir.</i>	(K)	ichhitavi	.	.	.	[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siya
<i>Ar.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Nand.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Rām.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[m]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>All.</i>	(K)	[i]chh[i]a]v[i]y[e]	h[i]	e]s[a]	k[i]m[i]	..... la-sama[i]ā	cha	siya

<i>Top.</i>	damda-samatā	chā	(L)	ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Mir.</i>	damda-sa[ma]	.	.	.	.	.	[me]	āvuti	[ba]mdhana-	
<i>Ar.</i>	damda-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Nand.</i>	damda-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Rām</i>	damda-samata	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana
<i>All.</i>	da[m]da-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-

<i>Top.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	til[i]ta-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasā[n]
<i>Mir.</i>	[badh]ānam	munisā[nam]	.	.	.	di[va]sāni
<i>Ar.</i>	badhānam	munisā[nam]	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	badhānam	munisanam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni

<i>Top.</i>	me	yote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Mir.</i>	[m]e	y[o]te	dimne	(M)	.	.	.	payisa[m]ti	j[i]v[i]tāye
<i>Ar.</i>	me	yote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Nand.</i>	me	[yo]te	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Rām.</i>	me	[y]ote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>All.</i>	.	yote	dimne	(M)	[k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye

<i>Top.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	vā	nijhapayitā	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Mir.</i>	tāna[m]	nāsamtam	[v]ā	ni	.	ti	pālatikam
<i>Ar.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	va	nijhapayitāve	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Nand.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	va	nijhapayitāve	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Rām.</i>	tānam	nasamtam	va	nijhapayitave	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>All.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	vā	nijhapayitā	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam

<i>Top</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichha	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Mir</i>	upavāsam	vā	[ka]	(N)	.	.	.	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Ar.</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Nand</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Rām</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>All.</i>	upavāsam	vā	[ka]chha[m]u	(N)	[h]	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi	

<i>Tōp.</i>	kālasī	pālataṃ	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[k]ālasī	pā[la]taṃ	ālādh[ye]	.	.	.	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Ar.</i>	kālasī	pālataṃ	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	va[ḍha]ti	vividhe
<i>Nand.</i>	[k]alasī	pālataṃ	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Rām.</i>	kālasī	pālataṃ	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>All.</i>	kālasī	pālataṃ	ālādhayev[u]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe	

<i>Tōp.</i>	dhamma-chalane	saṃyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	dhamma-chal[ā]ne	saṃyame	dā[na]	.
<i>Ar.</i>	dha[m]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-samvibhāge	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>All.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā	(B) saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B) saduvisati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	aha	(B) saduvisati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B) saduvisati-[va]sābhisitena
<i>All.</i>	(A)	[p]īye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā (B) saduvisati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālikā	alune
<i>Ar.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>Nand.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālika
<i>Rām.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>All.</i>	me	imāni		jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālikā

<i>Tōp.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūkā	ambā-kapilikā	dulī
<i>Ar.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>Nand.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>Rām.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>All.</i>	chaka[v]āke	.	[namdī]m[u]khe	gelāte	jatū[kā]	ambā-kipilikā	dudi

<i>Tōp.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]
<i>Ar.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Nand.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedavcyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Rām.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>All.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa

<i>Tōp.</i>	sayake	pamna-sase	simale	samḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Ar.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Nand.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Rām.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>All.</i>	k[e]	p[ā]mna-sase	simale	samḍa	.	.	[ta]-kapote

<i>Tōp.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogam	no	eti	no	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	cti	na	cha
<i>All.</i>	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogam	[no]			

<i>Top.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	..... i	[e]lakā	chā	sūkali	chā	gabbini	va	pāyaminā	
<i>Ar.</i>	khādiy[ā]ti	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sukali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>Nand.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>Rām.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	nā	.	.	.	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mī	.

<i>Top.</i>	va	avadhi	y.	p.ta[ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsarṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe	
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	.	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[i]	.	ke	(D)	[vadh]i-kukuṭe
<i>Ar.</i>	va	avadhya		potake		cha	kāni	āsarṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe	
<i>Nand.</i>	va	avadhya		potake		cha	kāni	āsarṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe	
<i>Rām.</i>	va	avadhya		potake		cha	kāni	āsarṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe	

<i>Top.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(F)	dāve	anathāye	vā
<i>Mīr.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajī[ve]	.	ta[v]iye	(F)	dāve	[a]nathāye	vā
<i>Ar.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anathāye	va
<i>Nand.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anathāye	va
<i>Rām.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anathāye	va
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	sajīve	no	jhā[pa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Top.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(G)	jī[v]ena	jī[v]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
<i>Ar.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
<i>Rām.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

<i>Top.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummāsīsu	tisāyaṃ	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātammāsīsu	[t]isāya[m]	pu[m]na[m]ā[s]ya[m]	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummāsīsu	tisyaṃ	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummāsīsu	tisyaṃ	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummāsīsu	tisyaṃ	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[n]

<i>Top.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuṽāye	chā	anuposatham
<i>Mīr.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uṽāye	cha	anuposatham
<i>Ar.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnalasaṃ	paṭipadam	dhuṽāye	cha	anuposatham
<i>Nand.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnalasaṃ	paṭipadam	dhuṽāye	cha	anuposatham
<i>Rām.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadam	dhuṽāye	cha	anuposatham
<i>All.</i>	chā[v]u[da]saṃ	[pa]mcha[da]	.	.	.	.

<i>Top.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Mīr.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[i]ye	(I)	etān[i]	yeva	divasāni	n[a]ga-
<i>Ar.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Nand.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Rām.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

<i>Top.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtaviyāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	van[ā]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[ā]ni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyān[i]	no	[ha]mtaviyāni
<i>Ar.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nik[ā]yāni	no	hamtaviyāni
<i>Nand.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtaviyāni
<i>Rām.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtaviyāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>)	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>)	aṭham[i-pakha]ye	[chā]vudasāye	paṁ[na]ḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>)	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>)	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>)	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḍake	sūkale
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitavi[<i>y</i>]e	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Ar.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Nand.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Rām.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale

<i>Tōp.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Mīr.</i>	e vā pi aṁ[n]e	nī[la]khi[ya]ti	[no]	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasun[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Nand.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Rām.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	....[v]īye
<i>Ar.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Rām.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[lakha]n[e]	no kaṭaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	yāva-saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	yā[va]-saduvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena	me	etāye	a[m]talikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitasa	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>All.</i>	(<i>L</i>)	[y]ā . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Ar.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Nand.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Rām.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>A</i>)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(<i>B</i>)	duvāḍasa-
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>A</i>)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>)	duvā[da]sa-
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>A</i>)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>)	duva[la]s[a]-
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>A</i>)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>)	duvāḍasa-
<i>All.</i>	(<i>A</i>)	..... [p]īye	[P]iyada[s]i	l[ā] . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasā	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	[va]bhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ

<i>Tōp.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vadhī	pāpovā	(C)	hevam	lokasā	hita-
<i>Ar.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vadhī	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lokasa	hita-
<i>Nand.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vadhī	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lokasa	hita-
<i>Rām.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vadhī	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lok[a]sa	hita-
<i>All.</i>	. . . .	[a]m	.	[dh]i	[pā]...	(C)	heva[m]	lokasa]	hita-

<i>Tōp.</i>	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nātisu	hevam	patiyāsamnesu	
<i>Ar.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nātisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>Nand.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nātisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nātisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>All.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]m	.	[va]m	[paty]āsa[m]ne[su]	

<i>Tōp.</i>	hevam	apakaṭṭesu	kimam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	hevam	apakaṭṭesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	hevam	apakaṭṭesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	hevam	apakaṭṭesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>All.</i>	[heva]m	apaka[ṭṭ]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[ni]					

<i>Tōp.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Ar.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Nand.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Rām.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>All.</i>	[v]i[dah]āmi	(D)	hevammeva	[sa]va. [k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	[sa]va-pāsamdā	

<i>Tōp.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e chu	iyam	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
<i>Mir.</i>										ūpagamane
<i>Ar.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Nand.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Rām.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>All.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(F)	e chu	iy[a]m	atana	pachupagamane

<i>Tōp.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma	
<i>Mir.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	sadu . . . isitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Ar.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	saduvisati-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Nand.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saduvisati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Rām.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saduvisat[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>All.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)					

<i>Tōp.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Mir.</i>	li[pi]	li . . .	
<i>Ar.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Nand.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Rām.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>All.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	ti

IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

<i>Rūp.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye	heva[r̥h]	āhā	(B) sāti[ra]kēkāni	aḍhati[y]āni
<i>Sak.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye	he[va]r̥h	ā		[iyāni]
<i>Bair.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye		āh[ā]	(B) s[ā]ti	
<i>Mas.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]na[r̥h]piyasa	Asok[a]sa			[a]dh[a]t[i] . . . ni
<i>Brak.</i>	(B) Devānāmpīye	ānapayati		(C) adhikāni	adhātīyāni
<i>Śidd.</i>	(B) [Dev]ā[n]mpīye	heva[r̥h]	āhā	(C) adhikāni	a[dhā]t[i]y[āni]
<i>Ṭal.</i>	(B) Dev[ā]n[a]				

<i>Rūp.</i>	va	ya	sumi prakāsa	[Sa]k[ē]	(C) no	chu	bādhi
<i>Sak.</i>	[savachhalāni |	a[r̥h]	upāsake	sumi |	(C) na	chu	bādham
<i>Bair.</i>	vasān[i]	ya	haka[r̥h]	upāsake	(C) [no	chu]	bādham
<i>Mas.</i>	vashā[ni] |	a[r̥h]	sum[i]	Bu[dha]-śake			
<i>Brak.</i>	v[a]sāni	ya	haka[r̥h]	. . . sa[kē]	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	vasāni	ya	ha[kar̥h]	u[pāsake]	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Ṭal.</i>	. . .	ya	haka[r̥h]	. . . . .	(D)	kho	bādha

<i>Rūp.</i>	pakate				(D) sātileke	chu	
<i>Sak.</i>	[palaka]r̥h[t]e				(D) sav[a]chhale		
<i>Bair.</i>							
<i>Mas.</i>			(C)		[t]ire . .		
<i>Brak.</i>	prakamte	husa[r̥h]	eka[r̥h]	savachhara[r̥h]	(E) sātireke	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	pakamte	husa[r̥h]	ek[a[r̥h]	sa[vachha] . .	(E) [sātire]ke	tu	kho
<i>Ṭal.</i>					(E) . . ti[reke]		

<i>Rūp.</i>	chhavachhare	ya	sumi haka[r̥h]	sagh[a]	up[e]te	bādhi	ch[a]
<i>Sak.</i>	sādhi[ke |	a[r̥h]					
<i>Bair.</i>		a[r̥h]	mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte	[bā]dha	cha
<i>Mas.</i>		. . . . [m]		[s]a[r̥h]gha[r̥h]	u[pa]gate	[u]h	. . . . .
<i>Brak.</i>	samvachhare	ya[r̥h]	mayā	sar̥hghē	upayite	bādham	cha
<i>Śidd.</i>	samvachhare	[ya[r̥h]	mayā	sar̥hghē	upayite	bādham	[cha]
<i>Ṭal.</i>		[ya]r̥h	. . [yā]				

<i>Rūp.</i>		pakate	(E) yā	[i]māya	kālāya	Jambudipasi
<i>Sak.</i>		[te]	(E) [etena	cha	a[r̥h]ta]ena |	Jambudipasi |
<i>Bair.</i>						Jambudipasi
<i>Mas.</i>	m[i]	u[pa]gate	(D) pure			Jambu s[i]
<i>Brak.</i>	me	pakamte	(F) iminā	chu	kālēna	amisā samānā
<i>Śidd.</i>	[me]	p[aka]r̥h[t]e	(F) i[m]inā	chu	kālēna	[a]misā samā[nā]
<i>Ṭal.</i>						

<i>Rup.</i>	amisā	devā	husu	te dāni	m[ɪ]n[ā]	kaṭā
<i>Sak.</i>	arhmisam	[de]vā	sarhita	munisā	[m]isam-deva	[kaṭā]
<i>Bair.</i>	amisā	na	devehi	.....	[m]i . . . .	. .
<i>Mas.</i>	[ye	amisā	devā husu]	te [dā]n[ɪ]	misibhōtā	
<i>Brak.</i>		munisā	jambudipasi		m[ɪ]sā devehi	
<i>Sidd.</i>		mu	jambu[d] . . .		[m]isā devehi	
<i>Yat.</i>						

<i>Rap.</i>	(F)	pakamasi	hi	[e]ba	phale	(G)	no	cha	esā	mahatata	
<i>Sak.</i>	(F)	[pala]	. . .	[iyam	phale]	(G)	[no]	. . .	[yam]	mahatata	va
<i>Bair.</i>	(F)	. . [ka]masa		esa	. . [e]	(G)	[no]	hi	e[ʃ]e	ma[ha]taneva	
<i>Mas.</i>						(L)		iya	a[the]		
<i>Bras.</i>	(G)	pakamasa	hi	iyam	phale	(H)	no	hiyam	sakye		
<i>Sidd.</i>	(G)	pakamasa	hi	iyam	phale	(H)	no	[h]i iya	sake		
<i>ʔat.</i>	(G)	. . .	[h]	i[yam]							

<i>Rup.</i>		p[ā]potave				khudakena	pi
<i>Sak.</i>	chakiye	pāv[a]t[a]ve				khudakena	pi
<i>Bar.</i>	chakiye						
<i>Mas.</i>						[khu]dake[na	pi]
<i>Brak</i>	mahātpeneva	pāpotave	kāmañ	tu	kho	khudakena	pi
<i>Sidd</i>	[ma]... [ne]va	pāpo[tə]ve	kāmañ	tu	kho	khudakena	pi
<i>Tat.</i>							

<i>Rap.</i>	pa[kə]mam[ɪ]nənā	sakiye	pipule	pā	svage	ārōdheve
<i>Sak.</i>	palakamaminēnā	vipule	pi	[u]ag .	[k]hye	[ā]lā . . . [vc i]
<i>Bair.</i>	. . kamaminēnā	vipule	pi	švage	[cha]kye	[ā]lādheta[v]e
<i>Mas.</i>	dhama-yutēnā	sake	adhigatave	(F)	na	hevam dakhitaviye
<i>Brak.</i>	paka[mj] . nēna	vipule		svage	sakye	ārādhetave
<i>Sidd.</i>	[pa] na	[v]ipul[e]		svage	sak[r]	ārādhetave
<i>7at.</i>						

[illegible]

<i>Rāp.</i>	udāla	cha	pakamatu	ti	atā	pi	cha	jānamtu
<i>Sah.</i>	udala	chā	pa[la]kamamtu		aṁtā	pi	ch[a]	jānamtu |
<i>Bair.</i>	[u]d[ā]lā	chā	[pa]kamatu	[t]i	[aṁ]tā	pi	cha	janamtu ti
<i>Mas.</i>	[ud]alake	cha	vataviyā	hevam	ve	kalamtam	bha[dak]e	
<i>Brak.</i>	mahāḍ[p]ā	cha	imam	pakame[ɟu	t]i	aṁtā	cha	mai jāneyu
<i>Ṣidd.</i>	[ma]hātpā	cha	imaṁ	[pa]kameyu	ti	atā	cha	
<i>Ṣat.</i>								

<i>Rūp.</i>	iya	paka[rā	va]	kiti	chira-ṭhitike	siyā	(I)	iya	hi	aṭhe
<i>Saḥ.</i>	chila-ṭhit[ke]	cha			p[a][ā]kame	hotu	(I)	iya[m]	cha	[aṭhe]
<i>Bair.</i>	[ch]la-ṭhit									
<i>Mas.</i>	[se a]				t[i]k[e]	cha				
<i>Brah.</i>	chira-ṭhitike	cha	iyam	[paka]			(ḡ)	iyam	cha	aṭhe
<i>Sidd.</i>	[chira]-ṭhi[t]k[e]	cha	iyam	pakame		hoti	(ḡ)			
<i>Ṭat.</i>									[cha]	

<i>Rūp.</i>	vadhī	vadhisiti	vipula		cha	vadhisiti				
<i>Saḥ.</i>		vadhisati	vipulam	pi	cha	vadhisati			diyādhīyam	
<i>Bair.</i>			laṁ	pi		vadhisati				
<i>Mas.</i>						va[dhī]siti		chā	diya[dhī]yam	
<i>Brah.</i>		vadhisiti	vipulam	pi	cha	vadhisiti				
<i>Sidd.</i>		va[dh]isiti	vipu[la]m	p[i]	cha	vadhisiti				
<i>Ṭat.</i>		[dhī]	[p]ulam	pi						

<i>Rūp.</i>	apaladhiyēnā	diyadhīya	vadhisata	(ḡ)	iya	cha	aṭhe	pavatis[u]	
<i>Saḥ.</i>	aval[a]dhiyēnā	diy[a]dhiyam	vadhisati	(L)	ima	cha	aṭham	pavatesu	
<i>Bair.</i>		diyadhīyam	vadhi[sat]						
<i>Mas.</i>	he[vaṁ]	ti							
<i>Brah.</i>	avaradhīyā	diyadhīyam	[va[dh]isiti						
<i>Sidd.</i>	[a]	[yadhīya]m	vadhisiti						
<i>Ṭat.</i>		[ya]dhiyam							

<i>Rūp.</i>	lekhāpeta	vāta	(K)	hadha	cha	athi	sālā-ṭh[abh]e	silā-
<i>Saḥ.</i>	[lakhapa]yāthā		(M)	ya	[vā]	ath[i]	hetā	silā-tham[bh]ā

<i>Rūp.</i>	ṭha[m]bhasi	lākhāpetavaya	ta	(L)	etinā	cha	vayajanenā	yāvataka
<i>Saḥ.</i>	pi	[lakhāpayatha	t]					
<i>Sār.</i>							(I)	āvate

<i>Rūp.</i>	tupaka	ahale	savara	vivasetavā[ya]	ti			
<i>Sār.</i>	cha	tuphākam	āhāle	savata	vivāsāyātha	tuphe	etena	viyamjanena

<i>Rūp.</i>	(M)		vy[u]thenā	sāvane	kate			
<i>Saḥ.</i>	(ḡ)	iyam	[cha	savane	v]vuthena	(K)	duve	sapamna
<i>Brah.</i>	(K)	iyam	cha	sāvan[r]	sāv[a]p[i]te			
<i>Sidd.</i>	(K)	i[ya]m	[cha]	sāv[va]ne				
<i>Ṭat.</i>	(K)	i		s[āvane]			[th]e[na]	

<i>Rūp.</i>			(N)	200	50	6	sata	vivāsa	ta
<i>Saḥ.</i>	lati-satā	vivuthā	ti		200	50	6		
<i>Brah.</i>				(L)	200	50	6		
<i>Sidd.</i>				(L)	[200]	50	6		
<i>Ṭat.</i>				(L)	200	50	6		

INDEX

This index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *va*, *ā*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōpā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed

Gir. = Girnār.

Kāl. = Fāhā

Shāh = Shāhāzgarh

Mān = Mānahrā

Dhau. = Dhauh.

Jau = Jaugada.

Sep = Separate edicts (of Dhauh and Jaugada).

Sōp = Sōpāh.

Tōp. = Delhi-Tōpā

Mīr = Delhi-Mīrath

Ar = Lauriyā-Arārā.

Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.

Rām = Rāmpurvā

All = Allāhabād-Kōsam.

Qu = Queen's edict

Kauś = Kauśāmbī edict

Sāth = Sāmchī

Sār. = Sāmāth

Rum = Rummindē

Nag = Nagāh Sāgar.

Rōp = Rōpnāth

Bah = Sahasrām

Bair = Bairāt.

Calc = Calcutta-Bairāt

Mas. = Maski

Brah. = Brahmagiri.

Sidd = Siddāpura

Jat = Jātīgā-Rāmēsvara

Bar = Barābar.

A

a (= ā) Kāl. XIII, 6, Shāh XIII,

9, Mān. XIII, 9, 10

a (= yat) Kāl. XII, 31

aa Mān VI, 26

am Mān VI, 30

an Kāl. IV, 12, X, 28, Mān IV,

17, XII, 2, Dhau VI, 3, 5, Sep

2, 3, II, 1, 2; Jau VI, 3, 5,

Sep. I, 1, 2, II, 1, 2, Sah 1, 2,

Bair 3, Mas 2

-amhāna Mān XII, 4

-ahhāth Gir XII, 6

amh Shāh VIII, 17,

amhe Gir V, 5, VIII, 5, Shāh.

II, 4, V, 13, XIII, 4

[a]mā Shāh II, 3

amām[a]m (read amālam) Tōp

VII, 15

amta-mahāmāhā Tōp. I, 8 f.

amara Shāh VI, 14

amāram Gir IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1,

VIII, 1, Shāh IV, 7, Mān V, 21

amālam Kāl. IV, 9, V, 14, VI, 17,

VIII, 22; Dhau IV, 1, V, 3, VI,

I, VIII, 1, Jau IV, 1, VI, 1,

Tōp VII, 12.

amhā Dhau Sep I, 18 II, 10,

Jau Sep II, 15

amhāhāe Tōp V, 20

[amā]na Sah 2

amhā Kāl. II, 4, Jan. II, 1, Sah 5,

Bair, 7, Brah 6

amhānam Dhau Sep II, 4, 10, Jau

Sep II, 4, 15

-a[m]uk[a] Dhau Sep I, 9, Jau,

Sep I, 5

amhām Sār. 6, 7,

Amhām Shāh. XIII, 9

Amu[a]k[a] Gir II, 3

Amuyako Gir II, 3.

Amuyokasa Shāh II, 4, Dhau II,

2, Jau II, 2

Amuyoke Dhau II, 1; Jau II, 1

Amuyoko Shāh II, 4, XIII, 9

[A]muyokasa Kāl. II, 5

Amuyoke Kāl. II, 5

[A]muyogena Kāl. XIII, 7

amte Dhau VI, 2, Jau VI, 2

Am[te] . . . Mān XIII, 10.

[A]m[te]k[te]na Gir XIII, 8

Amu[te]k[te] Kāl. XIII, 7

amteva-ana Brah 10, Jat 16

[a]m[te]v[te]v[te]ne Sidd 19

amte-hu Shāh XIII, 8, Mān XIII, 9

amtesu Dhau Sep II, 4, Jau Sep

II, 5.

Amūlra-Paladesu Shāh XIII, 10

[A*]mūlra-Pāmdesu Gir XIII, 9

amnamtam (read anamtam) Gir.

XI, 4

amnata Dhau VI, 7, Jau VI, 7,

Tōp I, 3.

amnamanashā Kāl. XII, 23

amnamam Tōp VII, 27

amhām Kāl. IV, 10, VIII, 22;

Dhau IV, 2, VIII, 1, Jau VIII,

1, Tōp. II, 14, V, 14, VII, 30

amhāe Kāl. III, 7, IX, 24, Dhau

III, 2, IX, 2, Jau III, 2, IX, 1

amne Kāl. II, 6, IV, 11, V, 15, 16,

VIII, 24, IX, 25, Dhau, IV, 4,

V, 4, VIII, 3, IX, 4, Sep I, 9,

Jau IV, 5, IX, 4, Tōp V, 17,

VII, 27, All Qu 3

amncsu Dhau V, 7, Tōp VII, 26.

ambā-kapilika Ar V, 3

ambā-kapilika Tōp V, 4

ambā-kapilika All V, 2

ambā-vadikā All Qu 3

ambā-vadikā Tōp. VII, 23

amnam-dehā (read am*) Sah 2

akarna Shāh XII, 4, Mān XII, 4

akalikam Shāh IX, 20

akalike Mān IX, 7

akarna Dhau Sep. I, 9, 20, 21

Jau Sep. I, 4 f.

akāla[te]na Kāl. XII, 32

akālik[te] Kāl. IX, 26

akshat Shāh XIII, 8

akshakase Dhau Sep I, 22

[a]gabhu[te] [-]shushushā Kāl. XIII,

37

-agana Shāh. XII, 7, Mān XII, 7

agāva Tōp I, 4, Ar. I, 2

agāyā Tōp I, 3

ag-kamdhāni Mān IV, 13

ag-kamdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau

IV, 2.

ag-kh[a]mdhāni Gir. IV, 4

agena Gir VI, 14, X, 4, Dhau

VI, 7, X, 3, Jau VI, 7, Tōp

I, 4, 5

agenā Kāl. VI, 21, X, 28

agenā . . . Shāh XIII, 4

Mān XII, 4

agena Shāh X, 22, Mān VI, 12

X, 11

ag[te]na* Shāh VI, 16

achmdal[m] Jau Sep I, 11

[a]cham[k] Dhau Sep I, 22

[a]chajyaka Shāh. VI, 14

achajyā Mān VI, 15

achajyā Mān VI, 28

achala Jau Sep II, 9, 11

achhaum Gu XIII, 7

achh[te]na Mān IV, 6

sja Gir I, 10, IV, 2, 5, Kāl. XIII,

39, Shāh IV, 7, 8, XIII, 7

Mān IV, 13, 14, XIII, 7, Dhau

I, 4, IV, 2, 3, Jau I, 4, IV, 2

ajakā Ar V 5

ajake Tōp V, 17

-ajy[te]kshu Mān XII, 8

[a]jālā Dhau Sep II 7

ajā Kāl. IV, 9, 10.
 -ajhakha- Gir. XII, 9
 añ[a] Gir. IX, 5.
 añam Shāh IV, 9, IX, 19
 añata Gir. X, 1.
 añātra Gir. VI, 14, X, 4, XIII, 5,
 Shāh. VI, 16, X, 21, 22; Mān.
 VI, 32, XIII, 6.
 añātha Shāh. XII, 4
 añāni Shāh. IV, 8, VIII, 17, Mān
 IV, 13, VIII, 34.
 |a|ñamāññasa Gir. XII, 7
 añamāññasa Shāh. XII, 6
 añamhi Gir. IX, 2.
 añāye Shāh. III, 6, IX, 18; Mān.
 III, 10, IX, 2.
 añāni Gir. IV, 4, VIII, 1.
 añāya Gir. III, 3 f
 añe Gir. IV, 7, V, 8, XII, 9, XIII,
 3; Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. IV, 15,
 V, 22, 25, XII, 8
 atavi Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 8
 ataviyo Gir. XIII, 6
 -atha- Shāh. X, 21.
 atam Kāl. VI, 18, IX, 26; Shāh
 VI, 14, 15, IX, 20; Dhau. VI, 2,
 Sep. I, 22; Jau. VI, 2; Sah. 7.
 |a*|atham Shāh. IX, 20.
 atha-kamhe Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau
 VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1
 atha-kramam Shāh. VI, 14
 atha-bhāgye Rum. 5
 athamī-pakhāye Ar. V, 10.
 athamī-pakhāye Tōp. V, 15.
 atahye Shāh. IV, 10, V, 13, VI, 14,
 15, 16, XII, 8, XIII, 11
 -athay[*c*] Shāh. I, 2
 |ath|a-vrāha-a[*b*]hūjita[*sa*] Shāh
 XIII, 1
 |ath|a-vābhūhita[*sa*] Mān. XIII,
 1.
 atha-[*va*]jābhūhita[*sa*] Kāl. XIII,
 35
 athasa Shāh. IV, 10, XIV, 13,
 Dhau. IV, 7, IX, 5
 atha-samitranā Shāh. VI, 15.
 atha-sa[m]juranāye Shāh. VI, 15
 |a|tha-samitranā Kāl. VI, 20.
 atha-samitranā[*sa*]nāye Kāl. VI, 19
 atha-samitranā Dhau. VI, 5, Jau
 VI, 5.
 atha-samitranāya Dhau. VI, 4, Jau.
 VI, 4.
 athavi Dhau. VI, 3, Sep. I, 3, II, 2,
 6, Jau. VI, 3.
 athas Tōp. VII, 25.
 athāya Rūp. 3, Brah. 5.
 athāya Kāl. III, 7, V, 16, VI, 19,
 20, XII, 34, XIII, 15, Dhau
 IV, 7, V, 7, VI, 6, Sep. I, 19, 21,
 23, II, 8, 9; Jau. VI, 6, Sep. I,
 10, II, 8, Tōp. II, 15, VII, 22,
 Sah. 4.
 athāye Kāl. I, 3, Dhau. I, 3; Jau.
 I, 3, Tōp. V, 10, VII, 28
 athi Jau. Sep. I, 4.
 athe Kāl. IX, 27; Dhau. Sep. I, 7,
 Jau. Sep. I, 4; Rūp. 4; Sah. 5,
 Mas. 4, 7, Brah. 7.
 athew Tōp. VII, 25.
 atho Shāh. IX, 20.

ath[r]a Shāh. VI, 14.
 athrasa Shāh. IX, 19.
 athra-[*ko*]h[*ka*]ni Tōp. VII, 23.
 adhat[*y*]āni Rūp. 1; Mas. 1 f.
 adhātīyāni Brah. 2; Śidd. 4.
 aṇaṇyash Mān. VI, 31.
 anatra Mān. X, 9.
 anapayami Shāh. VI, 14.
 [anapayit] Mān. III, 9.
 [anapa]yita[*ti*] Mān. III, 11.
 anapita Mān. VI, 29
 anapita[*rh*] Shāh. III, 5, VI, 15.
 anapemi Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VI, 28
 anapemhi Shāh. III, 7.
 anamanava Mān. XII, 6.
 ane Mān. VIII, 37, IX, 5.
 ata (= atra) Kāl. XIV, 22.
 ata (= antāh) Mān. II, 5.
 ata (= yatra) Kāl. XIII, 6; Dhau.
 II, 3; Jau. II, 3; Tōp. VII, 32.
 atata Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.
 a[*ta*]ta Kāl. II, 5, 6.
 atana Ar. VI, 4; Rum. 2; Nig. 3
 a[*ta*]nā Tōp. VI, 8.
 atane Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Jau. Sep.
 I, 12.
 ata-patiye Tōp. IV, 4, 14.
 ata-paśāda-puṇā Kāl. XII, 31.
 ata-paśāda Mān. XII, 4.
 ata-paśāda-vadhi Shāh. XII, 9.
 ata-pāśāda Kāl. XII, 32.
 ata-pāśāda Kāl. XII, 32.
 ata-pāśāda Kāl. XII, 33.
 ata-pāśāda[*da*]-bhatyā Kāl. XII,
 33
 ata-pāśāda-vadhi Kāl. XII, 35.
 ata-pāśāda[*da*] Kāl. XII, 33.
 ata-p[*ra*śāda] Shāh. XII, 4
 ata-praśāda[*da*] Shāh. XII, 4, 6.
 ata-praśāda[*da*] Shāh. XII, 3
 ata-praśāda[*da*] Shāh. XII, 5, 6
 ata-praśāda-puṇā Mān. XII, 3
 ata-praśāda-bhatyā Shāh. XII, 5
 ataye (read etaye) Shāh. IX, 18.
 atara Shāh. V, 11.
 ataram Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV,
 12, VI, 26, VIII, 34.
 atā (= *for* atitā) Rūp. 3; Śidd. 12
 atā (= atra) Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau
 VIII, 2.
 |a|tā (= yatra) Kāl. II, 5, 6.
 atānā Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep.
 II, 10.
 atikamān Kāl. IV, 9, V, 14, VI,
 17, VIII, 22; Dhau. IV, 1, V, 3,
 VI, 1, VIII, 1; Jau. IV, 1, VI, 1,
 Tōp. VII, 11, 15
 atikamān Gir. IV, 1, V, 3, VIII, 1
 atikamayāni Dhau. Sep. I, 24.
 atikamān Shāh. IV, 7, V, 11, VI,
 14, VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 12, V,
 21, VI, 26, VIII, 34
 atikā[*ta*]nā Gir. VI, 1
 atyāyika Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3,
 Jau. VI, 3.
 Atyok[*c*]na Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Atyogē Kāl. XIII, 6; Mān. II, 6.
 -atuleke Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep.
 I, 8.
 [atulanā] Jau. Sep. I, 6.
 a[*to*]nā Jau. Sep. I, 12.

ateshu Kāl. XIII, 6.
 ato Shāh. V, 11.
 atra Shāh. VIII, 17, IX, 18, 19, X, 22,
 XIV, 13, 14; Mān. V, 20, VIII,
 35, IX, 3, 4, X, 11, XIV, 14.
 atra (= yatra) Mān. II, 7, 8.
 atva-paśāda Mān. XII, 4, 5, 6
 atva-paśāda-bhatyā Mān. XII, 5
 atva-paśāda-vadhi Mān. XII, 9.
 atha Shāh. IX, 20; Mān. IX, 7
 atha (= yathā) Mān. II, 5, XII, 2,
 7; Dhau. Sep. I, 23, 26, II, 3, 7,
 Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3, 10; Tōp
 III, 20, VI, 4.
 -atha- Gir. X, 1; Kāl. X, 27.
 atha-kamhe Gir. VI, 2.
 atham Gir. IV, 10.
 athas Kāl. XIV, 22.
 athasa Gir. IV, 11, IX, 6, XIV, 4;
 Jau. Sep. II, 2.
 atha-samitranā Gir. VI, 10
 atha-samitranāya Gir. VI, 9.
 athas Kāl. IV, 12, 13, IX, 26
 |a|thas[*i*] Jau. Sep. II, 12.
 athā (*for* atāya) Gir. XII, 9
 athā (= yathā) Kāl. II, 4, XII, 31,
 34; Dhau. II, 1, III, 2, Sep. I, 5,
 II, 7, 8; Jau. II, 1, III, 2, Sep.
 I, 12, II, 10; Tōp. IV, 10; Ar.
 VI, 3.
 -athā Tōp. VII, 24.
 -a|thāta Bar. III, 3.
 athāya Gir. III, 3, IV, 11, V, 9, VI,
 7, 12, XIII, 11.
 -athāya Gir. I, 9, 11.
 athāye Kāl. IV, 12; Jau. Sep. II,
 14; Tōp. VII, 31.
 athi Kāl. I, 3, XIII, 36, XIV, 19,
 20, 21, Dhau. IX, 1, 5, XIV, 1,
 2, Sep. I, 8, Jau. I, 2, XIV, 1,
 Tōp. VII, 32; Rūp. 4, Sah. 7 f
 athe Gir. VI, 4, 5
 athra Mān. VI, 27, 28.
 -athra- Mān. X, 9.
 athra Mān. IX, 7, 8.
 athra-[*kra*]mā Mān. VI, 27
 athraye Mān. III, 10, IV, 18, V, 26,
 VI, 29, 31, XII, 8, XIII, 12.
 -a|thraye Mān. I, 4
 athrasa Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17,
 18, IX, 6, XIV, 14
 ath[r]a-sa[*rh*]juranāye Mān. VI, 29.
 athra-satirana Mān. VI, 30.
 athre Mān. IX, 8.
 ada (= atra) Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān
 VIII, 35.
 ada (= yadā) Jau. Sep. I, 12
 adamānās[*ā*] Kāl. VI, 17.
 ada Dhau. I, 4, Sep. I, 24; Jau. I, 4
 adikare Mān. V, 19.
 |a|dikaro[*o*] Shāh. V, 11.
 |a|diśe Mān. IV, 14, XI, 12
 adisha Kāl. XI, 29.
 Adha-[*Pa*] . . . Mān. XIII, 10
 [Adha]-P[*ā*]lād[*sa*] Kāl. XIII, 10
 adhi Kāl. Brah. 2; Śidd. 4.
 adhugachh[*c*]yā Mas. 6.
 adhgatave Mas. 5.
 adhguchya Cale. 6.
 -adhranāye Shāh. V, 12; Mān.
 V, 22.

- apahbodaye Shāh. V, 13; Mān V, 23
 -apahbodaye Mān V, 23
 apahbodaye Kāl V, 15; Dhau V, 5
 apa-vayata Shāh. III, 7, Mān III, 11
 apavāhe Kāl XIII, 36, Mān. XIII, 3
 apavāho Shāh. XIII, 3
 apavāho Gir XIII, 2
 apa-vy[a]l[a] Dhau III, 3.
 [a]pa-v[ī]lāś Kāl III, 8
 apav[udha] Shāh. XIII, 6
 apavudhe Kāl XIII, 35, 39, Shāh XIII, 1, Mān XIII, 7
 apa-vyayātā Gir III, 5
 apahata Ar. VI, 2
 apahatā Tōp. VI, 3
 ap[ā]hādhatam Calc 1
 -apāye Dhau Sep I, 15, Jau Sep I, 8
 apānave Tōp II, 11.
 apī Gir II, 2
 apumfām Gir X, 3
 apuām Shāh X, 22
 ap[ne] Mān X, 11
 apune Kāl X, 28
 -apekha Ar I, 3
 -apekhā Tōp I, 6
 -aprakaranamū Gir. XII, 3
 ap[hi]s[un] ju Jau Sep I, 11.
 apāhka Dhau Sep II, 7
 ap[hi]kāk Dhau Sep II, 5
 ap[hi] Dhau Sep II, 7
 ap[hi]kāt Jau Sep II, 10
 [ap]h[ic]u Dhau Sep II, 4
 ap[he]sū Dhau Sep II, 5
 at-... IX 3
 at... IX 24
 at... IX, 2
 abadhe Shāh. IX, 18
 -abhihara Mān V, 24.
 -abhihara Shāh V, 13
 -[abhi]kāl Kāl V, 16
 abhihnam Calc 7.
 abhihnam Calc 8
 abhiratana Shāh XIII, 5
 abhi[ra]nam Mān. XIII, 5.
 abhiratānam Gir XIII, 4
 abhiratam Shāh. VIII, 17, Mān VIII, 34
 abhi[ra]nam Kāl XIII, 37
 abhi[ra]nam Kāl VIII, 22, Dhau VIII, 1
 abhi[ra]ne Dhau VIII, 3, Jau VIII, 3.
 abhi[ra]ne[tu]nam Calc 1
 -abhi[ra]tashā Kāl XIII, 35
 abhi[ra]ta Dhau IV, 8.
 -abhi[ra]ta Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1, Ar V, 1, 13
 -abhi[ra]te Kāl VIII, 22, Mān VIII, 35, Dhau VIII, 2, Bar III, 2
 -abhi[ra]tana Gir III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4, Kāl III, 7; Shāh. III, 5, IV, 10, V, 11, Mān IV, 18, V, 21, Dhau. III, 1, V, 3, Jau. III, 1, Tōp I, 2, IV, 2, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 9, VII, 31, Rum. 1; Ng 1, 3.
 -abhi[ra]tenā Kāl. IV, 13, V, 14; Bar. I, 1, II, 2.
 -abhi[ra]to Gir. VIII, 2; Shāh. VIII, 17
 -abhi[ra]t[en]a Mān. III, 9.
 abhi[ra]t[en]a Ram IV, 2.
 abhi[ra]t[en]a Tōp IV, 3, 14.
 -abhi[ra]t[en]a Gir V, 7
 -abhi[ra]t[en]a Dhau V, 6.
 abhi[ra]t[en]a Ar. IV, 2, 6.
 abhi[ra]t[en]a Tōp. IV, 4, 12
 abhi[ra]makāni Gir. VIII, 2.
 abhi[ra]vasu Shāh. VIII, 17.
 abhi[ra]namisatī Tōp VII, 21
 abhi[ra]namayecham Tōp VII, 19
 am[ra] Rūp. 2, Bar 4, Mas 4.
 Brah. 3; Sidd 7
 aya Shāh I, 1, 2
 aya Gir I, 10, V, 8, 9, VI, 13, VIII, 3, IX, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 1, Kāl V, 15, Shāh. V, 13, Jau Sep I, 6
 ayatiya Shāh X, 21, Mān X, 9
 ayatye Kāl X, 27.
 ayaputasa Brah. 1, Sidd. 1
 ayāya Gir VIII, 2
 ayi Shāh V, 13, VI, 16, XIII, 8, 11, XIV, 13, Mān I, 1, 4, V, 26.
 -ay[ra]shu Shāh. V, 12, Mān V, 22 f
 -ay[ra] Gir V, 5, Kāl V, 15, Dhau V, 4
 -aram[bi]h Mān IV, 12
 -aram[bi]ho Shāh III, 6, IV, 7, 8, XI, 24
 aradhe Mān. IX, 8, XI, 14.
 aradhe Shāh V, 16; Mān VI, 31
 ar[ra]h[itu] Shāh I, 1, Mān I, 1
 [ara]h[itu]yami Mān I, 4.
 [arab]h[itu]y[un] Shāh I, 2.
 arabhi[ra]t[en]a Shāh I, 3.
 [arab]h[itu] Mān I, 4
 -arabhe Mān III, 11, IV, 14, XI, 13
 aropitām Gir. VI, 7, Shāh VI, 14, 15
 aropite Mān. VI, 28
 alam Jau Sep II, 12, Tōp. I, 8
 alambhiy[un] Kāl I, 3.
 alabhi[ra]nam ju Kāl I, 3.
 alahām Calc 4.
 [a]l[ra] (read amala) Jau Sep I, 9
 al[ra]h[itu]y[un] ju Kāl I, 4
 Alkhasudare Mān. XIII, 10.
 Alkhasudaro Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Alkhasudale Kāl. XIII, 8
 Alha-vasāni Calc 5
 alune Tōp V, 3
 alochayitū Kāl XIV, 23
 alochayitū Kāl IV, 13; Mān IV, 18.
 alochayitū Dhau IV, 7, Jau IV, 8.
 alochetū Shāh XIV, 14
 [a]loch[ra]p[ra] Gir XIV, 6.
 ava Kāl IX, 25, Shāh IX, 19, XI, 24, XIII, 9, Mān. IX, 6, XI, 13, Tōp IV, 15
 avam Kāl XIII, 8.
 [av]a-kapa Shāh. IV, 9
 ava-kapah Shāh. V, 11; Mān. IV, 16, V, 20
 av[ra]t[ra] Kāl XIII, 39.
 av[ra]t[ra]pey Shāh. XIII, 8
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. V, 8
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. V, 2, VII, 30.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp V, 13.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Ar. V, 1
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Ar. V, 1
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Mān XIII, 2.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. V, 2, VII, 30.
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. V, 13.
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Ar. V, 1
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Ar. V, 1
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Mān X, 9.
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Mān IX 2.
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] VI, 6
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] IX, 18.
 av[ra]t[ra] Kāl XI, 30
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Kāl XIII, 35.
 -av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Gir XIII, 1.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Kāl IX, 24
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Kāl XIII, 36, Shāh. XIII, 3.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Dhau. Sep. II, 4, Jau. Sep. II, 4 f
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Kāl. XIII, 38, Mān. XIII, 5
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Shāh. XIII, 5
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Nand IV, 7.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. IV, 13
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Tōp. IV, 30
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Shāh IV, 8, Mān. IV, 14
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Kāl IV, 10, Dhau IV, 4, Jau IV, 4.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Gir. IV, 6
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Mān. VI, 27
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Shāh VI, 14
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Shāh IV, 10, Mān IV, 17
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Dhau VII, 2.
 av[ra]t[ra]y[un] Gir X, 3, XII, 2, 3, 8, XIV, 5.
 asampatipatī Kāl IV, 9, Shāh IV, 7, Mān IV, 12; Dhau IV, 1, Sep. I, 15; Jau Sep I, 8
 a[ra]t[ra]p[ra]t[ra] Gir IV, 2
 asampatipatī Gir IV, 2
 asampatipatī Mān IV, 12
 asampatipatī Shāh XIV, 14
 asampatipatī Dhau, 22 f., Dhau XIV, 3.
 asampatipatī Gir XIV, 5
 asā Kāl VII, 21
 asā Kāl IV, 12.
 asā Gir IV, 10, Dhau IV, 7
 asu Gir XII, 7; Kāl XIII, 15.
 Shāh XIII, 11, Mān XIII, 12
 Asok[ra] Mān. I, 1
 Asok[ra] Gir. IX, 7.
 asu Gir I, 6, IX, 1, 6, XIV, 1, 3; Shāh I, 2, XIII, 2, XIV, 13, Mān. I, 2, XIV, 14.
 [a]s[ra]t[ra] Shāh. IV, 8.
 as[ra]t[ra] Mān IV, 13.
 asvatha Tōp. IV, 4, 13
 asvathā Ar. IV, 6.
 asvathē Tōp IV, 11.
 asvata Ar. V, 12
 asvata Tōp V, 18.
 [a]svasey Jau Sep II, 6
 asvasey Dhau. Sep II, 5.

aṣṭāntya Dhaui. Sec II, 8, 10,
 jau Sep II, 12, 14
 avatānīja Jau. Sec II, 9.
 aka Mān III, 9, V, 9, IX, 1, XI;
 ahām Gṛ VI, 1; Shāh VI, 14,
 15; Mān. VI, 28.
 ahāt Shāh III, 5, VI, 14, IX, 18
 aka Kal V, 13; Tōp. III, 17, V, 1,
 VI, 1.
 abhāpyant Dhaui. Sec I, 25
 ahale Rdp 5
 ahini Kal IV, 11; Shāh IV, 10,
 Mān IV, 17.
 ahini Dhaui. IV, 7
 ahini Gṛ IV, 11
 ahimsu Gṛ VIII, 2
 aho Gṛ IV, 3, Kal IV, 9, Shāh
 IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13, Dhaui.
 IV, 2.

 \bar{A} [illegible]

ānāvāsai Sar 4
 ānī Dhaui II, 3, Jau II, 3
 ānugahkesu Tōp VII, 25,
 [ā]parāṭī Gur V, 5
 āpalamā Dhaui V, 4
 āpinām Tōp VII, 24
 [āb]ādhā Dhaui IX, 1
 -[ā]bādhataṁ Calc 1
 ābādhasi Kāl IX, 24
 ābādhesu Gur IX, 1,
 āyātā Dhaui Sep I, 4, Jau Sep I,
 2, Ar IV, 2,
 -[āyatan]ā Jau Tōp VII, 27
 āyātā Tōp IV, 3, VII, 22,
 āyā jaye Jau X, 1,
 -[āy]ūtike Jau Sep II, 12
 -ārambho Gur III, 5, IV, 1, 5 f.
 X, 3
 -āradū Gur IX, 9
 āradho Gur XI, 4,
 ārabhare Gur I, 11,
 ārabhūpa Gur I, 3
 ārabhāre Gur I, 12,
 āibhau Gur I, 9
 ārādhayamtu Gur VI, 12
 āśādhetaṁ Brah 5, Sidd 10
 ārādhetu Gur IX, 9
 ārogyam Brah 1, Sidd 3
 āroḍhe (*rad* ārādhetu) Rāp 3
 -ālambhaye Tōp VII, 31
 ālām[ā]bhayamtu Jau I, 4
 ālām[ā]bhayamtu [ā] Dhaui I, 4
 -ālambhē Kāl III, 8, IV, 9, 10, XI,
 10, Dhaui III, 3, IV, 1, 4, Sep
 I, 22, Jau III, 3, IV, 3, 4
 [ā]l[ā]dhu Dhaui Sep I, 16
 ālādu Dhaui Sep I, 15, Jau Sep
 I, 8,
 -[ā]l[ā]dhu Jau Sep I, 8
 [ā]lādhi Dhaui IX, 7
 ālādhi Kāl XI, 30, Tōp VII, 31
 ālādhu Kāl I, 1, Dhaui I, 1
 Jau I, 1
 ālābh[ā]bhayamtu I u I, 5
 ālābh[ā]bhayamtu I u I, 3, Jau I, 3
 ālābbheham Dhaui Sep I, 3, II, 2,
 Jau Sep I, 2, II, 2
 ālāmā Al Qu 3
 ālāmyāna Dhaui Sep I, 11
 [ā]l[ā]y[ā]j[e]nā Jau Sep I, 6
 ālādhayamtu Dhaui VI, 6, Jau
 VI, 6
 ālādhayitave Dhaui IX, 7, Jau IX,
 6, Tōp IV, 10
 ālādhayitu (*rad* āyamtu) Kāl VI,
 20
 ālādhayēatha Dhaui Sep I, 17, II,
 9, Jau Sep I, 13
 ālā[dha]y[ā]t[ā]h[ā] Jau Sep I, 9
 ālā[dha]y[ā]t[ā] Jau Sep II, 7
 ālādhayevu Ar IV, 4, Al IV, 4
 ālādhayevu Dhaui Sep II, 6, Tōp
 IV, 8, 19,
 [ā]lādhētā[ā]k Bur 6
 ālopte Kāl VI, 19, Dhaui VI, 3,
 Jau VI, 3
 āva Gur IV, 9, V, 2, IX, 6, XI, 3,
 Kāl IX, 26, Dhaui IX, 5, Tōp
 VII, 29, Al IV, 2
 āva-kapam Kāl IV, 12, V, 14,
 Dhaui V, 2

ava-gamu[k]e Dhuu Sep. I, 61, 1
 avu Sep I, 3
 ävatake Calc 2
 ävate Sär, 9
 -ävah[ä] Gir X, 1
 ävalämi Ar VI, 3
 ävā Ar IV, 7
 -ävā (*read* -ävahā?) Kal X, 27
 ävākyaye All Kauś 4, Sär 5
 ävāha-vivāheṣu Gir IX, 2
 ävāṭa Top IV, 15
 -ävuṭike Dhuu Sep II, 8
 -ä[v]uṭi[ṣa] Jau Sep I, 6
 -ävūṭya Dhuu Sep I, 11.
 -ävūṭmāṭke Top V, 9
 ävnava-gāmini Top III, 20
 ävnave Top III, 18
 -ävnave Top III, 11.
 -ävuṭope Dhuu Sep I, 12, Jau
 Sep I, 6
 Ävūṭopena Dhuu. Sep I, 10, Jau
 Sep I, 5.
 äha Gir III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1,
 XI, 1, Jau Sep II, 1, Ar I, 1,
 II, 1, III, 1, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1,
 Bīrah 9, Budd 4
 -ähale Dhuu Sep I, 16, Jau Sep
 I, 8
 ähä Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, IX 24, 1,
 Dhuu III, x, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1,
 Jau III, 1, V, 1, Sep I, 1,
 Top 1, 1, II, 11, IV, 1, VII, 11,
 14, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31,
 Mū III, 1, All V, 1, Sär 6,
 Rūp 1, Baur 1, Cūc 1
 [a^h]hä Kāl XI, 29
 ähäc Sat 9

I

ā Shāh V, 17, VI, 16, IX, 20,
 Man VI, 31, VIII, 34
 aloka Shāh IX, 20 XI, 24
 ' , ' , ' , ' , ' XIII, 13
 ' , ' , ' , ' , ' ,
 ikā Sār 6
 ikuṣe Sār 8
 ichha Shāh XII, 7, Mān XII, 6,
 Dhau Sep II, 4, Jau Sep I, 3,
 II, 4, 5
 kharanū kāl VII, 21, Shāh VII,
 2, Mān VII, 33, Dhau VII,
 1, Jau VII, 1
 khahatī Gir VII, 1, 2, X, 2, Kāl
 VII, 21, X, 27, XIII, 3, Shāh
 VII, 1, X, 21, 22, XIII, 8
 Mān VII, 32, X, 9, 10, Dhau
 VII, 1, X, 1, Jau VII, 1, X, 1,
 Sep II, 5
 khabh[ar] kāl X, 28
 khātī Gir XII, 7, kāl XII, 33,
 Tōp IV, 19, Sām 7
 kchhamū Dhru Sep I, 2, 5, 6, II,
 3, Jau Sep I, 1, 3, II, 1, 3,
 Cāk 6
 [chhi]taye Jau Sep I, 5
 khutavaye Dhau Sep I, q. rrr, Jau
 Sep I, 6, Tōp IV, 14
 khushu Tōp VII, 23, 15
 [it]are Mān IX, 6
 [it]ale Kāl IX, 20

- u Gur. VI, 5, 13, IX, 7, 8, 9, XII,
 6; Dhaṣ Sep II, 4, 5, 7.
 ste Tōp IV, 16.
 utiḥyākhha-mahāmāṭā Kal. XII,
 34
 utiḥ Dhaṣ IX, 2.
 utiḥyākhha-mahāmāṭā Gur. XII, 9.
 ida Gur XI, 3, Shāh IX, 20.
 idam Gu III, 1, IV, 8, 9, 11, 12,
 VI, 14, IX, 6, 8, XI, 2, XII, 3,
 Shāh XIII, 7.
 [idam] Shāh I, 2.
 [idam] Kal I, 3.
 idha Gur I, 2, VI, 12, XIII, 8, 9,
 Dhaṣ IV, 8.
 imam (*read* yam) Kal. XII, 31.
 iḥ[il], yu Dhaṣ V, 5.
 iḥ[il]shu 'shāh V, 12.
 -ibhesu Kal V, 15.
 -ibhyāshu Mān V, 23.
 ima Shāh IX, 19, Mān. IX, 6,
 Shāh 7, Māṣ 6.
 imam Kal IV, 10, 11, 12, IX, 26,
 Shāh. IV, 9, VI, 17, 16, IX, 18,
 19, 20, XI, 24, XII, 9, Mān.
 IV, 16; Dhaṣ. IV, 5, 6, Tōp
 VII, 24, Calc 8; Brah 6, Sidd
 12
 imamhu Gur IV, 10.
 imāse Mān III, 10.
 imāsa Gur IV, 11, Mān IV, 17;
 Dhaṣ. IV, 7, Sep. I, 16.
 imā[ā] Kal. IV, 12, 13.
 imān Tōp III, 19, V, 2, VII, 30,
 Calc 4.
 imāsa Gur. III, 3, Kal. III, 7,
 Rūp 2.
 imāve Dhaṣ III, 2, V, 7.
 imāpa Gur IX, 8, 9, Brah. 3,
 Sidd 7.
 imsa Shāh III, 6, IV, 10.
 ime Gur XIII, 5, Kal XIII, 38,
 Mān XIII, 6, Dhaṣ V, 7, Tōp.
 VI, 15, 26, 27, Brah 10, Sidd
 17, Jat 14.
 imena jau IX, 6.
 imchi Dhaṣ Sep I, 10; Jau Sep
 I, 5.
 13.4 Mān. VIII, 35, Rūp 3, 4,
 Māṣ 4, Sidd 8f.
 13.5m Gur I, 1. Kal I, 1. III, 7,
 IV, 12, V, 16, 17, VI, 20, 21,
 VII, 23, IX, 25, 26, XI, 30,
 XII, 15, XIII, 36, 4, 15, XIV,
 19, Shāh VIII, 17, Mān. III,
 9, IV, 18, V, 23, 25, VI, 31, IX,
 4, 6, 7, XI, 14, XII, 2, 8, XIII,
 3, 12, XIV, 13, Dhaṣ I, 4, III,
 1, IV, 7, V, 6, 7, 8, VI, 5, 6, 7,
 IX, 3, 6, XIV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 17,
 19, II, 9, 10, Jau I, 1, 4, III, 1,
 VI, 5, 6, IX, 35, 4, Sep. I, 4, 6,
 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sōp VIII, 6,
 Tōp I, 2, 9, II, 15, III, 17, 18,
 21, IV, 2, VI, 4, 8, 10, VII, 28,
 29, 30, 31, Mir. III, 6, Sar 5,
 Sah 3, 4, 5, 6, Brah. 4, 5, 6, 7,
 8, Sidd. 8, 11, 13, 15, Jat 7,
 Bar I, 2, II, 2, III, 3.
 iyamama Tōp III, 22
 14.0 Shāh XII, 2.

- ilokachava Gur. XI, 4.
 ilokakā Gur. XII, 12
 nāva Dhau. Sep 1, 10. Jan Sep.
 I, 5.
 Isulavi Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.
 istrja(jha)ksha-mahamatra Mān.
 XII, 8.
 [istridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra Shāh.
 XII, 9.
 isya Ar III, 3.
 isya Tōp III, 20.
 iha Shāh. XIII, 8.

U

- uk-a Tóp I, 7
 uga[*chha*] (chhe) Dhau Sep. I, 13
 uchavucham Sháh IX, 18, Mán.
 IX, 1
 uchavucha-chhamdo Sháh VII, 3
 uchavua-h-chhade Mán VII, 33.
 uchavucha-rage Mán. VII, 33.
 uchavucha-raga Sháh VII, 3.
 uchavucha-raga Sháh IX, 1, 2.
 uchavucha-chhamdo Gr. VII, 2.
 uchávacha-rágo Gr. VII, 2
 uchávucham Kál. IX, 24; Dhau
 IX, 1.
 uchávua-h-chhamdā Dhau VII, 2,
 jau VII, 1.
 uchávucha-lágā Dhau VII, 2, jau
 VII, 1
 uchávucha-l[áge] Kál. VII, 21
 uchávuchā-chh[ā]mdē Kál VII, 21
 Ujente Dhā Sep. I, 23
 uthana[s] Sháh. VI, 15; Mán VI,
 29.
 uthane Mán VI, 30.
 [uthānam] Mas 7
 uthan[*u*]ka Kál VI, 19.
 uthānā Dhau VI, 4, jau VI, 4
 uthāne Kál VI, 19, Dhau VI, 5.
 jau VI, 5
 [ud]lakē Mán 5 f, 6.
 ulla Rūp 3, Sah 4, Bah. 6
 uthanam Sháh VI, 15.
 uthāy[ā] jau Sep I, 7.
 utupānāni Kál. II, 6, Dhau. II, 4;
 jau II, 4, Tóp. VII, 23
 upakarou Gr XII, 4, Sháh XII,
 4, Mán XII, 4
 upakalet Kál XII, 32
 upakate Mas 3
 upaghāte Kál. XIII, 37, 38.
 [upaghāto (Gr XII), 4
 Upatra-paene Calc 5.
 -upadane Sháh IX, 18.
 -upadaye Mán IX, 2.
 -upadāhevu Ar IV, 3
 -upadāhev Tóp. IV, 5
 -upadāne(ve) Kál IX, 24.
 -upādāye Dhau. IX, 1, jau IX, 1
 upādāh[ā]lyed Calc. 7
 [up]payāc Bahr 3.
 payāte Brah 3, Śidd 6.
 upavāsam Tóp. IV, 18
 upahamti Kál XII, 31, Sháh. XII,
 6, Mán. XII, 6
 upahanāti Gr XII, 6
 upāsākā Śār. 7, Calc. 8
 upāsākanamukam Śār 7

- upāsake Sah. 1; Baur. 2, Brah. 2,
Sidd. 5.
upāṁkā Cāc. 8.
up[re] Rūp. 1.
ubaliḥ Rum. 4.
ubha[re]śa Shāh. IX, 20
ubhayaśam Kāl IX, 26, Man
IX, 8
uṣṇasū Mān VI, 24, Mān VI,
27
uṣṇasū Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau VI, 2,
Jau. VI, 2
uṣṇesu Gir VI, 4
uṣṇa-lau Kāl XIII, 18
-uṣṇa Dhau. Sep. II, 4. Jau
Sep. II, 5
[u]ḥatehā Kāl. X, 29
uḥatena Kāl. X, 28.
uṣatena Gir. X, 4, Shāh. X, 22,
Mān. X, 11, Dhau X, 4, Jau.
X, 3
uṣateneva Mān. X, 11
uṣapāte Rum. 3, Nig. 4.
uṣāhena Ar. I, 3.
uṣāhenā T. 5.
uṣānam Gir VI, 10.
uṣānamhū Gir. VI. 9

E

- e Kāl V, 13, 14, 15, 16, IX, 26,
X, 28, XII, 34, XIII, 36, 38,
Shāh XIII, 5, Mān V, 25, IX,
6, X, 11, XII, 7, XIII, 5, Dhau
II, 2, V, 2, 4, 6, 7, VI, 3, IX, 3,
XIV, 3, Sep. I, 12, 13, 14, 22,
II, 5, Jau II, 1, 2, V, 7, VI, 3,
XIV, 2, Sep. I, 7, II, 7, 10p
V, 17, VI, 8, VII, 22, All Qu
2, 3, Sār 3, Cak. 2, 3, 5
kam Brah 2, Sidd. 5
[e']kam Shāh V, 11
[k]a[k]e'na Jau Sep. I, 9
kacchā Gir. I, 6
kātaramhī Gir. XIII, 5
kātara Shāh XIII, 6
katalahā I, Kāl. XIII, 19
ekata Shāh. I, 2
[ka]ṇṇya Nān I, 3
kaṇṇyā Kāl I, 2, Dhau I, 2, Jau
I, 2,
ekada Gir. XIV, 5,
eka-dakam Shāh. VII, 3, Mān
VII, 33
eka-desam Gir VII, 2, Kāl VII
21, Dhau VII, 2
eka-pulne Dhau Sep. I, 7, 8
eka-munne Jau Sep. I, 4
ekunavisaṭ-vaśā[bb]h[ṣ]ṭe Bar III,
1,
eke Kāl I, 4, Mān. I, 5, Jau I, 4
ekena Dhau Sep. I, 18, II, 10, I
Sep. II, 16
eko Gir. I, 11,
edakā Ar. V, 5
cdak Tōp V, 17
eta (= 'tira) Gir V, 3, VIII, 1, IX,
3, X, 4, XIV, 3,
eta (= 'etat) Gir IX, 4, 5, XI, 3,
Shāh. IV, 9, 10, IX, 18
eta (= 'ētē) Shāh. I, 3

- [illegible]

chukichha Gur II, 4
 -chukichhā Gur II, 6
 chuthutu Kāl IV, 12, Mān. IV, 17,
 Dhau IV, 6
 churam Gur VI, 13.
 chura-thutika Mān V, 26, VI, 31
 chura-thutike Rūp. 4.
 chura-thutike Brah. 6, Sidd. 13.
 chura-thutika Shāh V, 13, VI, 16.
 chilam-thutikā Tōp II, 15 f
 chilam-thutikā Ar. II, 4
 chula-thutike Tōp VII, 32
 chula-thutikā Kāl VI, 20
 chula-thutikā Dhau V, 8, VI, 6, Jau
 VI, 6, All. II, 3.
 chula-thutike Sah 5, Calc 4
 chula-thutikā Kāl V, 17
 chula-thutike Sām 8
 chu Kāl I, 4, V, 14, VI, 21, VII,
 21, IX, 24, 25, X, 28, XII, 31,
 32, XIII, 36, Shāh I, 2, V, 11,
 VII, 3, X, 22, XII, 1, 3, XIII,
 1, XIV, 13, Mān. I, 2, 5, V, 20,
 VI, 30, VII, 33, IX, 4, X, 11,
 XII, 1, 2, 3, XIII, 3, XIV, 14,
 Dhau I, 2, IV, 5, 6, VI, 7, IX,
 2, 3, X, 4, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 10, 16,
 23, II, 10, Jau I, 2, 4, IV, 7,
 VI, 7, IX, 3, 5, X, 3, XIV, 2,
 Sep. I, 3, 6, Tōp I, 5, II, 11, III,
 19, VI, 8, VII, 13, 24, 26, 29,
 30, Rūp. 1, Sah 1, Bar 2,
 Calc 3, Brah. 3, Sidd. 7
 chum Sār 3
 [chū] Kāl I, 4
 chva Gur IV, 7, XIV, 3, Kāl IV,
 12, IX, 25, 26, XIV, 21, Shāh
 XIV, 13, Mān. IX, 3, 7, XIV,
 14, Dhau IV, 5, IX, 3, Jau,
 IX, 2, Tōp VII, 25, 26, 27,
 Ar. I, 4
 chevā Kāl IV, 11, Tōp I, 6.
 chesā Gur XIII, 4
 [Choda] Shāh II, 3, Mān II, 6.
 Choda-Pamdi Shāh XIII, 9
 Choda-Pamdiya Mān XIII, 10
 Choda-Pamdiya Kāl XIII, 8
 Chodā Gur II, 2, Kāl II, 4, Jau
 II, 1
 chodasa-vasā[bh][u][e]n[a] Nig

Chh

chhamdam Dhau Sep II, 6, 8,
 Jau Sep II, 8
 chhamdamāni Tōp IV, 9
 -chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2, Jau
 VII, 1
 -chhamde Kāl VII, 21, Dhau
 Sep II, 4
 -chhamdu Gur. VII, 2, Shāh. VII,
 3
 chhanati Gur XII, 6; Mān. XII, 4
 -chhaum Gur XIII, 7
 -chhade Mān VII, 33
 chhanati Kāl XII, 33
 chhamitave Gur XIII, 6
 chha[va]v hharē Rūp. 1
 [chh]amdam Jau Sep II, 11
 -chhāmde Jau. Sep II, 5

chhāti Gur XIII, 11.
 chhāyopagāni Tōp VII, 23
 chhudam Gur. IX, 3.
 chhudakena Gur. X, 4.

J

Jathbudipaw Rūp. 2, Bar. 4.
 Jumbudipaw Sah. 2, Brah. 3
 jatūka Ar. V, 2.
 jatūka Tōp V, 4
 Jana Shāh. XIV, 13.
 janam Gur. IV, 4, Tōp. IV, 7,
 VII, 23.
 jan[a]padashī Kāl. XIII, 39
 janapadana Shāh VIII, 17; Mān
 VIII, 36
 [janapadana] Mān XIII, 6.
 jan[apadana] Kāl XIII, 38, Mān
 XIII, 6
 jan[a]jāhā Kāl XIII, 36
 janasa Gur VI, 4, 5, VIII, 4, XIII,
 2, Kāl IV, 10; Shāh IV, 8,
 VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, XIII, 3,
 Mān. IV, 13, VI, 27, 28, VIII,
 36, XIII, 3, Dhau VI, 2, VIII,
 3, Jau VI, 2, Tōp. IV, 5, 19
 janasa Kāl VI, 18, VIII, 23.
 janasa Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22
 -janika Mān IX, 3
 -jan[yo] Kāl IX, 24.
 Jane Kāl VII, 21, IX, 24, X, 27,
 XIII, 39, XIV, 22, Shāh X, 21,
 Mān VII, 33, IX, 1, 2, X, 9,
 XIII, 7, XIV, 14, Dhau IX, 1,
 2, X, 1, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 9, Jau
 IX, 2, X, 1, XIV, 2; Tōp VII,
 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21
 janena Gur X, 4
 jano Gur. VII, 2, IX, 1, 2, X, 1,
 XIII, 5, XIV, 4, Shāh VII, 3,
 IX, 18, XIII, 6
 ja[lagh]o[sāgama]thāta Bar III,
 2 f
 [jāta] Dhau. Sep. I, 12
 jāni Jau Sep. I, 6, Tōp V, 2,
 VII, 30.
 jāte Rum. 2, 4
 jāte[h] Dhau Sep. I, 10, Jau Sep
 I, 5.
 janamtu Rūp. 3, Sah 5, Bar 7
 janamtu Calc 8.
 janapadam Tōp IV, 7.
 janapadana Gur. VIII, 4, Dhau
 VIII, 3, Tōp IV, 12, Ar
 IV, 2
 janapada Kāl VIII, 23, Tōp.
 IV, 5
 janitu Dhau Sep. I, 22
 janisamtu Dhau Sep. I, 25, Tōp
 IV, 6
 jāneyu Brah 6
 jive Kāl I, 1, Shāh I, 1; Mān
 I, 1.
 jivam Gur. I, 3; Dhau. I, 1, Jau
 I, 1
 jiva-nikāyāni Tōp V, 14
 jivitāye Tōp. IV, 17
 jive Tōp V, 11
 -jive Tōp V, 9
 jivena Tōp V, 11

jivecu Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 3
 jou-lamdhām Shāh IV, 8

Jh

jhāpayitaviye Ar V, 6, 7.
 jhāpayitaviye Tōp V, 10

Ń

Ńatika Shāh. V, 13.
 -Ńatika Shāh. XIII, 5
 -Ńatikana Mān. XI, 13.
 -Ńatikanam Shāh. III, 6, XI, 23,
 Mān III, 11.
 Ńatike Mān. V, 25
 Ńa(Ńa)ukena Gur. IX, 8
 -Ńatikeshu Shāh XIII, 5
 Ńatina Shāh. IV, 7, Mān IV, 12,
 14
 Ńatuna[m] Shāh. IV, 8.
 Ńanam Shāh IV, 10
 Ńayāvu Gur VIII, 1
 Ńātuka Gur. V, 8, Jat 18
 -Ńātuka Gur XIII, 4.
 -Ńānikanām Gur. XI, 2
 -Ńā[si]k[e]na Gur. XI, 3
 -Ńānikeshu Brah 11
 -Ńānikesha Gur. XIII, 3
 -Ńānam Gur IV, 6
 -Ńānam Gur. III, 4
 -Ńātsu Gur. IV, 1

Th

-tha[m]bhavi Rūp 5
 -th[ai]he Rūp 5
 -thitika Mān V, 26, VI, 31
 -thutike Tōp VII, 32, Rūp 4.
 -thutikā Kāl VI, 20
 -thutikā Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6, Jau VI
 6, All II, 1.
 -thutike Sah 5, Calc 4, Brah. 6,
 Sidd 13

N

nyhap[te]ta[vlye] Jau. Sep. I, 7

T

ta Gur. IV, 2, 10, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 12,
 IX, 3, 5, 7, X, 3, XII, 6, XIII,
 2, Kāl X, 28, Shāh. XIII, 7,
 Mān VI, 27, XIII, 8
 ta (read ti) Rūp. 5, 6.
 tam Kāl IX, 26, Shāh V, 11, VI,
 14, IX, 20, X, 22, XIII, 3, 6, 11,
 Mān V, 19, IX, 7, 8, X, 10,
 Dhau. V, 1, Sep. I, 2, 26, II, 1,
 Jau Sep. I, 1, 12, II, 1, Tōp
 VI, 3, VII, 28; Calc 1.
 Tambapamni Shāh II, 4
 Tambapamniya Shāh. XIII, 9;
 Mān. XIII, 10.
 Tambapamni Gur II, 2 f
 Tamha[pamni] Kāl II, 4.
 Tambapamniya Kāl XIII, 8
 [Tam]bapamni Mān II, 6.
 Ta[kha]k[ha]te Dhau. Sep. I, 24,
 Jau. Sep. I, 11
 ta[ig(s)] Kāl XII, 32

tata Gir. XI, 2, XII, 8, XIII, 4, Kal. XI, 29, XII, 34, XIII, 35; Dhau Sep I, 8, 9, Jau Sep. I, 4, 5; Töp. VII, 24, 30, 32, Sah. 8.
tata Gir XIII, 1; Kal. XIII, 36, 37, 38.
ta[te]ja Gir IX, 4.
[ta]kasa Dhau. VIII, 2, IX, 3; Jau. VIII, 2.
tato Kal. IX, 26, XIII, 35, 36, 39, Shäh. IX, 20, XIII, 1, 2, 3, 6, Män. IX, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 7.
tatopaya Män. VIII, 36.
tatopayam Shäh. VIII, 17.
tatopay[ya] Kal. VIII, 23.
tatra Gir XII, 8, XIV, 5, Shäh. XI, 23, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3, 5, 6, Män. XI, 12, XII, 7.
taträ Gir XIII, 1.
tatha Gir XII, 6, Shäh. V, 11, 13, VI, 16, XI, 24, XII, 1, 6, 8, XIII, 13; Män. V, 20, 26, VI, 31, XI, 14, XII, 1, 5, 7, XIV, 14; Dhau Sep. II, 7; Töp. VI, 6.
tathä Gir V, 2, VI, 13, XI, 4, XII, 2, 8, XIV, 4; Kal. V, 14, 17, VI, 20, XI, 30, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIV, 22, Dhau. V, 2, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 6, 22, 26, Jau. XIV, 2, Sep. I, 12, Töp. VII, 31, Ar. VI, 3, Sidd. 21.
tada Shäh. I, 3, XIII, 6; Män. I, 4, XIII, 7.
tada añatha (*read* tad-añatha) Shäh. XII, 4.
tad-amñatha Män. XII, 4.
tad-amñathä Gir. XII, 5.
tadatavey Shäh. X, 21, Män. X, 9.
tadatavey Kal. X, 27, Dhau. X, 1, Jau. X, 1.
tadä Gir XIII, 5, Kal. I, 3, XIII, 39, Dhau Sep. I, 25.
tadä anatha (*read* tad-anatha) Kal. XII, 32.
tadä[pana](ne) Gir. X, 1.
tadise Shäh. IV, 8; Män. IV, 14.
tadopayä Gir. VIII, 5, Dhau. VII, 3.
ta[te]ja Gir XII, 4.
ta[nam] Män. XIII, 5.
[ta]phä Kal. XIII, 35.
tameva Kal. XIII, 17.
tamhi Gir IX, 8, XII, 4.
taye Shäh. VI, 14, 15, Män. VI, 29.
-tavata[ke] Shäh. XIII, 1.
tasä Kal. XII, 31.
tasä Kal. XII, 32.
tasha Kal. XIV, 22.
tashä Kal. XIV, 22.
tasa Gir II, 3, VI, 10, IX, 6, XII, 3, XIV, 4, Shäh. II, 4, VI, 15, IX, 19, XII, 2, XIV, 13, Män. VI, 30, IX, 6, XII, 2, XIV, 14, Dhau. II, 2, VI, 5, IX, 5, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 14, Jau. II, 2, VI, 5.
tasä Kal. II, 5, VI, 19, IX, 26.
tasä Shäh. XII, 3, Män. XII, 3, Dhau. VI, 3, IX, 6, Jau. VI, 3

[ta] Kal. V, 13.
tädise Kal. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3.
tänam Kal. XIII, 38; Töp. IV, 17.
[tä]namev[ä] Kal. XIII, 38.
täm Dhau. Sep. II, 7, Töp. VII, 27.
täya Gir. VI, 7.
täye All. Qu. 4.
täyeth[ä]y[re] Kal. VI, 19.
tärise Gir. IV, 5.
-tävatäkam Gir. XIII, 1.
-tävatäka Kal. XIII, 35.
ti Gir. V, 8, Kal. V, 15, 16, IX, 26, X, 27, 28, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIII, 4, Shäh. V, 13, X, 21, XII, 6, 7, Män. V, 24, 25, VI, 31, IX, 6, X, 9, 10, 11, XII, 2, 5, 6, 7; Dhau. V, 6, 7, VI, 2, 4, 5, 6, VII, 1, IX, 5, X, 1, XIV, 1, Sep. I, 6, 10, 12, 20, 21, 23, 26, II, 3, 5, Jau. VI, 2, 4, 6, VII, 1, X, 2, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, II, 4, 5, 7, 10, Töp. I, 10, II, 11, 16, III, 18, 19, IV, 8, 13, 19, 20, VI, 4, 6, VII, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, Ar. II, 2, III, 2, 3, IV, 2, 5, All. VI, 3, Qu. 5, Säm. 3, 8, Rum. 2, 4, Rüp. 3, 5, Sah. 7, 8, Bair. 6, 7, Calc. 2, 4, 8, Mas. 6, 8, Brah. 6, Sidd. 12.
tuhni Kal. I, 3, Dhau. I, 4, Sep. I, 24, Jau. I, 4, Töp. IV, 16, V, 12.
tuhni Shäh. IV, 10.
tuni Kal. I, 4, Män. I, 4, 5.
tune Kal. XIII, 35.
t[ä] - - - - - Män. XIII 2
t[ä] - - - - - Dhau. Sep. I 17
t[ä] - - - - - V, 11
tävey Töp. V, 15, 18.
täyam Nand. V, 8.
täyena Dhau Sep. I, 18, II, 10, Jau. Sep. II, 15.
täyanta Gir. IV, 9.
täyaya Gir. VI, 13.
täyayam Ar. V, 7.
ti (nom. masc.) Gir. I, 10.
ti (= u) Töp. II, 16, Mir. III, 2.
ti[ti]ta-damñanam Töp. IV, 16.
ti[ti]ta-damñanam All. IV, 2.
Tivala-mātu All. Qu. 5.
ti[ti]o Gir. XIII, 1.
tiu Töp. V, 11, 16.
tu Gir. I, 6, V, 3, VI, 14, VII, 2, 3, IX, 3, 4, 7, X, 3, 4, XII, 2, 3, 4, Shäh. VI, 16, IX, 18, X, 22, XII, 2, XIII, 11; Män. IX, 3, X, 11, XII, 2, Dhau Sep. I, 13, Jau. Sep. I, 7, Brah. 2, 4, Sidd. 5, 6, 9.
tutthāyatan[ā]ni Töp. VII, 27.
tupaka (*read* perhaps tuppākam) Rüp. 5.
[tu]phāk[a] Dhau Sep. I, 13, II, 1, 6.
tuphākam Sär. 9.
tuphākamukam Sär. 6.
tuphe Dhau. Sep. I, 4, 7, 18, II, 6, 8, 9, 11, Jau. Sep. I, 3, 4, II, 12, Sär. 10.

tupheni Jau Sep. II, 8, 11.
tuphehu Dhau Sep. I, 3, II, 2, Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.
tuphehu Dhau. Sep. I, 10, Jau. Sep. I, 5.
Turamaye Shäh. XIII, 9.
Turamāyo Gir. XIII, 8.
-tulanā Jau Sep. I, 6.
Tulamaye Kal. XIII, 7.
[tu]laya Jau Sep. I, 6.
tuse Töp. V, 9.
-t[ti]ll[ā]nā Dhau Sep. I, 12.
tulanā[ya] Dhau Sep. I, 11.
te Gir. V, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, VII, 1, 2, Kal. V, 14, 15, 16, VII, 21, XIII, 11, Shäh. V, 11, 12, 13, VII, 2, 3, XIII, 10, Män. V, 21, 23, 24, 25, VII, 32, 33, XIII, 11; Dhau. V, 3, VII, 1, 2, Sep. I, 13, 25, II, 4, Jau. VII, 1, Sep. II, 9, Töp. IV, 9, VII, 22, 25, 26, 27, Sär. 7; Rüp. 2, Mas. 4.
tedasa-va[ś]ābhustena Dhau. V, 3.
[te]dasa-va[ś]ābh[ā]t[ā]nā Kal. V, 14.
tena Gir. V, 2, XI, 4, XII, 4, XIII, 8, Kal. XII, 32, Shäh. V, 11, IX, 20, XI, 25, XII, 4, XIII, 0, Män. V, 20, IX, 8, XI, 14, XII, 3, Dhau. V, 2, Sep. I, 9, 13, Jau. Sep. I, 5, Töp. VII, 23.
tenatā Kal. VIII, 23, Dhau. VII, 2.
tenada Shäh. VIII, 17, Män. VIII, 15.
tenā Kal. IX, 27, XI, 30, XIII, 6.
tenesā Gir. VIII, 3.
tesha Shäh. XIII, 5, 6, 8, Män. XIII, 8.
tesham Kal. XIII, 37, Shäh. XII, 8.
tesa Gir. XIII, 4, Dhau. Sep. II, 8, 10.
tesam Gir. XIII, 7, Jau. Sep. II, 12, Töp. IV, 3.
tesu Töp. VII, 26.
tehi Gir. XII, 8, Kal. V, 14, XII, 34, Män. XII, 7.
to (*read* u) Män. V, 25.
to[śa]-va[ś]ābhustena Shäh. V, 11.
toshe Män. VI, 29.
tosho Shäh. VI, 15.
Toshamy Dhau Sep. I, 1, II, 1.
tośe Dhau. VI, 4, Jau. VI, 4.
to[ś]o Gir. VI, 8.
trāyo Shäh. I, 3.
tri Gir. I, 12.
tredasa-va[ś]ābh[ā]t[ā]nā Män. V, 21.
tradasa-va[ś]ābh[ā]t[ā]nā Gir. V, 4.

Th
-than[ā] bh[ā] Sah. 8.
-tham[ā]ni Töp. VII, 23, 32.
-thabhe Rum. 3.
-thutka Shäh. V, 13, VI, 16.
-thutkā Töp. II, 16.
-thutk[ā] Kal. V, 17.
-thutkā Ar. II, 4.
-thutka Säm. 8.
thube Nig. 2

nikaye Shäh. XII, 9, Män XII, 8.
nikäya Gur XII, 9, XIII, 5, Käl
XIII, 38.
-nikäyāni Töp. V, 14.
-nikäyatu Töp. VI, 7.
nikyam Käl XIV, 21.
[n]iky[ä]y[ä] Käl XII, 34.
nikramanäm Shäh XIII, 5.
nikramatu Shäh. III, 6, Män. III,
10.
nikrami Shäh. VIII, 17; Män
VIII, 35.
nikramishu Shäh. VIII, 17, Män.
VIII, 34.
nikham[am]tu Käl III, 7.
nikhamävu Dhau III, 2, Jau. III, 2.
[n]ikhami Dhau VIII, 2.
nikhamtha Söp. VIII, 5.
nikh nithä Käl VIII, 22.
nikhamisamtu Dhau Sep. I, 25;
Jau. Sep. I, 12.
nikhamisu Käl. VIII, 22, Dhau
VIII, 1.
[n]ikham[am]tu . Dhau. Sep. I,
23.
nikhamay[am] Dhau. Sep. I, 22,
Jau. Sep. I, 11.
nikhütä Sar 6.
nikhupatha Sar 7.
nikhuthesu Töp. VII, 26.
[Nigroha]kubhā Bar I, 2.
nigohāni Töp. VII, 23.
nicha Shäh. XIII, 9, Män. XIII,
10.
nicham Käl XIII, 8.
nichä Gur VII, 3.
niche Käl VII, 22, Shäh. VII, 5,
Män VII, 34.
niya[ha]y Shäh VI, 15, Män VI,
29.
niyatu Käl VI, 19, Shäh VI, 14.
niyatuä Töp. VII, 29, 30.
niyatu Gur VI, 7, Dhau. VI, 3.
niyapayitave Rām IV, 8.
niyapayitu Töp. IV, 18.
niyapayisamtu Töp. IV, 17.
nithilip[am] Töp. III, 20.
nithilip[am] Dhau Sep. I, 11, Jau
Sep. I, 5.
niyay Dhau. Sep. I, 8, 12, Jau.
Sep. I, 6.
nipata Shäh. V, 13, VI, 16, XIII,
11.
niputam Shäh IV, 10.
nipesaquta Shäh XIV, 13.
nipestam Shäh IV, 10.
niphaty[ä] Dhau IX, 5.
nimtam Dhau. Sep. II, 5, Jau
Sep. II, 7.
-niyamāni Töp. VII, 30.
-niyame Töp. VII, 30.
-niyamena Töp. VII, 29.
[n]iyātu Gur. III, 3.
nirathiyam Shäh IX, 18.
niratu Män. XIII, 13.
nirath[am] Gur IX, 3.
nirathiya Män. IX, 3.
nilakhuwaye Rām V, 9.
[n]ilathiyam Dhau IX, 2.
nilatu Käl. XIII, 18.
nilathya Käl IX, 24.

niludham Töp. IV, 19.
nivatu Shäh. IX, 20; Män IX,
7, 8.
nivat[e]tu Shäh IX, 20.
nivat[am] Käl IX, 26.
nivateya Män IX, 7.
nivateyati Shäh IX, 20.
nivate[am] Käl IX, 26.
nivateti Käl IX, 26.
nivutasi Män IX, 6.
nivutasi Shäh IX, 19.
n. IX 10, Män. IX, 6.
n. IX, 26.
-nikte Shäh. V, 13.
-nikto Män. V, 25.
nisutu Töp. IV, 10.
-nisite Käl V, 16, Dhau. V, 7.
nisānāya Gur. IX, 6.
-nisrito Gur. V, 8.
niche Dhau VII, 2, Jau. VII, 2.
-ni[am] Jau. Sep. I, 7.
nilakhitayye Töp. V, 16, 17.
nilakhiyatu Töp. V, 17.
ne Gur XII, 1.
ne (=nah) Käl V, 16, Dhau. Sep.
II, 5, Jau. Sep. II, 6, 10.
no Gur IV, 12, XII, 3, 8, Käl I,
1, 2, 4, IV, 12, V, 14, VI, 17,
IX, 26, X, 27, XII, 31, 34, XIII,
19, 11, 10, XIV, 20, Shäh I, 1,
3, V, 11, IX, 20, X, 21, XII, 1,
3, Män. I, 1, 2, 5, IX, 7, X, 0,
XII, 1, 3, 7, Dhau. I, 2, 4, IV,
3, 7, V, 3, VI, 1, Sep. I, 6, 7, 10,
12, 15, 21, 24, II, 5, Jau. I, 1,
2, 4, 5, IV, 7, VI, 1, XIV, 1, Sep.
I, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, II, 6 Töp. III, 18,
V, 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19,
VII, 13, 16, Añ. Kāl. 2, Rüp.
1, 2, Shāh 3, Bar. 2, 5, Brah.
2, 4, Sidd. 5, 8.

I

[pa]mcha[da] All V, 5.
pamhashu Shäh. III, 6, Män
III, 9.
pamchasu Gur. III, 2, Käl III, 7,
Dhau III, 2, Sep. I, 21, Jau
III, 2, Sep. I, 11.
pamjam (*read* pajam) Ar IV, 5.
Pamda Shäh XIII, 9.
Pamdiya Shäh. II, 4, Män II, 6.
Pamdiva Män XIII, 10.
Pamdiya Käl II, 4, Jau. II, 1.
-Pamdiya Käl. XIII, 8.
pamthesu Gur. II, 8.
pamnadasm Töp. V, 12.
pamnadasye Töp. V, 15.
pamnavisati Töp. V, 20.
pamna-sas Töp. V, 5.
pamnalasam Ar V, 8.
pamnalasāye Nand V, 11.
pakamte Brah. 3, Sidd. 5, 7.
pakate Rüp. 1, 2.
pakimatu Rüp. 3.
pa[ka]mam[am]nenä Rüp. 3.
pakamasa Brah. 4, Sidd. 8.
pakamasi Rüp. 2.
paka[m] nena (*read* pakama-
minena) Brah. 5.

pakame Sidd. 13.
pakameyu Brah. 6, Sidd. 12.
pakaranasi Män XII, 3.
-pakaranasi Shäh XII, 3, Män.
XII, 3.
pakaranu Gur. IX, 8.
paka[ra] (*read* pakame?) Rup. 3.
pakalan[am] [a] Käl XII, 32.
-pa[ka] [a] [a] [a] Käl XII, 32.
pakalanā Dhau IX, 6.
pakiti Brah. 12, Sidd. 19, Jat 17,
19.
-pakhiye Töp. V, 16, 18.
paku-vāhchaku Töp. II, 13.
pacha Shäh I, 3, XIII, 2, Män I,
5, XIII, 2.
pachhu[am]ane All VI, 3.
pachhu[am]ane Töp. VI, 8.
pacha Gur I, 12, XIII, 1, Käl
XIII, 35, Dhau I, 4, Jau. I, 5.
pajam Töp. IV, 10, 11.
paja Käl V, 17, Dhau. V, 6, 8.
Sep. I, 5, II, 8, Jau. Sep. I, 3.
II, 3, 10.
p. Sep. I, 5, II, 3, Jau
II, 3, II, 3.
p. V, 15.
pajupadane Shäh IX, 18.
[pa]pupadāy Dhau IX, 1, Jau
IX, 1.
pajupadāni (se) Käl IX, 24.
pajupadāy Käl I, 1, Dhau I, 1,
Jau. I, 1.
pajupadā Dhau Sep. II, 6.
pajupadā Jau Sep. II, 9, 11.
pachchale Töp. IV, 8.
pachchalemu Töp. IV, 9.
[pa]pupa[am] Jau Sep. I, 5.
pajupadā Gur XIV, 4.
pajupadāy Shäh XIV, 14, Män.
XIV, 14.
pajupadā Käl XIV, 22, Dhau
XIV, 3, Jau. XIV, 2.
-pajupadā Käl IX, 25, XI, 29, XIII,
37, Shäh IX, 19, XI, 23, Män
IX, 4, XI, 12, Dhau IX, 3,
Jau IX, 3.
pajupadam Ar V, 8.
p[ajupadā] Mir V, 6.
pajupadāy[e] Töp. V, 12.
[pa]pupadāy[am] Jau Sep. I, 7.
pajupadāy[am] Jau Sep. I, 1, II, 2.
p. I 10.
p. Sep. I, 2.
p. V.
pajupadam Sep. II, 6.
pajupadāy Käl XIII, 38.
pajupadāy Töp. V, 7.
pajupadāy Män II, 8.
pajupadāy Käl II, 6, Dhau II, 1.
pajupadāy Shäh V, 13, Män
V, 23.
-pajupadāy Män VIII, 35.
pajupadāy Gur V, 6.
pajupadāy Shäh Käl V, 17, Dhau
V, 5.
-pajupadāy Käl VIII, 23, Dhau
VIII, 3, Jau. VIII, 3, Sep.
VIII, 7.
-pajupadāy Gur VIII, 4.
pajupadāy Töp. VII, 26.

- pativckhāmī Tōp VI, 4, 7
 pativedaka Shāh VI, 14, Mān VI, 27.
 pativedakā Gir VI, 4; Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau VI, 2, Jau VI, 2
 pativedana Shāh VI, 14, Mān. VI, 27
 pativedanā Gir VI, 2, Kāl VI, 17, Dhau VI, 1, Jau VI, 1
 [pa]tiveda[aj]amtu Dhau VI, 2
 pativedetaviye Kāl VI, 19; Mān. VI, 29, Dhau VI, 4, Jau VI, 4
 pativedetavo Shāh VI, 15.
 p[ati]vedet[aj]v[ayam] Gir VI, 8.
 pativedetu Kāl VI, 18; Shāh VI, 14, Mān VI, 28.
 pativedetha Gir VI, 5
 pativesyemā Mān IX, 6, XI, 13.
 p[ati]veshyen[a] Kāl XI, 30
 pativesyemā Kāl IX, 25.
 -patipati Tōp VII, 28
 patibh[aj]g[lo] Gir XIII, 4
 patibhogāye Tōp VII, 24
 patibhoge Tōp VII, 24.
 pativisitham Tōp VII, 26
 p[ati]v[is]itham Tōp VII, 27
 pativisecha Gir XI, 3
 padham Shāh VII, 5
 panatika Mān IV, 16
 pata-vadhānam Tōp IV, 16
 patyāsammesu Tōp VI, 5
 -patye Tōp IV, 4, 14
 patyāsammesu Ai VI, 3
 panti Shāh VI, 14, 15, Mān. IX, 7, Dhau VI, 5, Jau VI, 5
 [pa]nti Dhau IV, 5
 [pa]n[aj]am[un]i Dhau Sep I, 4, Jau Sep I, 2
 panatikyā Kāl IV, 11
 papam Shāh V, 11
 pape Mān V, 21
 papotā Kāl XIII, 15, Dhau VI, 6
 papotike Tōp VII, 31, Mān 3 f
 papotra Shāh XIII, 11.
 para Mān VI, 20.
 param Gir V, 2, XIII, 8, Shāh. V, 11, XIII, 9
 parakramamtu Shāh VI, 16
 parakramati Shāh X, 22, Mān X, 10
 para[kra]mate Mān VI, 31
 parak[r]amati Shāh VI, 16, Mān VI, 30
 parakramena Shāh VI, 16, X, 22, Mān VI, 32, X, 11
 parata Gir XI, 4
 paratra Shāh VI, 16, IX, 20, XI, 24, Mān VI, 31, IX, 7, 8, XI, 14
 paratrā Gir VI, 12
 paratrikameva Shāh. XIII, 11, Mān XIII, 12
 paratrikaye Shāh. X, 22, Mān. X, 10
 pa[r]-pashamda-garana Shāh. XII, 3
 para-pashada Mān XII, 5.
 para-pashada-garaha Mān XII, 3.
 para-pashadasa Mān XII, 4
 para-pasamam Gir XII, 5.
 para-pasamda garahā Gir. XII, 3
 para-pasamda Gir. XII, 4, 5.
 para-pasamda Gir. XII, 4.
 para-prashamda] Shāh XII, 3 f
 para-prashamdama (read 'dasa') Shāh XII, 4
 p[ar]a-prashamda Mān XII, 3
 p[ar]a-prashamda Shāh XII, 3
 p[ar]a-prashamda Mān XIII, 12, Mān XIII, 13
 paralokite Mān. XIII, 13
 paralokiko Shāh XIII, 12
 parākramamū Gir VI, 11.
 parākramena Gir VI, 14, X, 4
 par(rā)k[aj]mate Gir. X, 3.
 -pari[godhāya] Gir V, 6
 parichajupā Gu X, 4
 partipnu Shāh X, 22, Mān X, 11
 -[pa]r[aj]puchha Mān. VIII, 26
 -paripuchhā Gir VIII, 4
 -[pa]r[aj]p[ur]jehha Shāh VIII, 17
 paribhogāva Gir II 8
 parisha Mān III, 11
 par[sha] Shāh III, 7
 parishaye Shāh VI, 14, 15, Mān VI, 29.
 parisave Gir. X, 3, Mān X, 11
 -[pa]r[isave] Mān X, 11
 parikā Gir III, 6
 parisāyam Gir VI, 7
 parisave Shāh X, 22.
 -parisave Gir X, 3, Shāh X, 22
 palam Kāl. V, 14, XIII, 6, Jau V, 2.
 [palaka]m[ti] Sah 1
 palakamamtu Jau VI, 7, Sah 4 f.
 palakama[m]h[aj] Dhau VI, 6.
 [pa]lakama[t]i Dhau X, 2
 [pa]lakamatu Kāl. X, 28.
 [pa]lakamatu Bau 6.
 palakamaminēnā Shāh 3 f.
 palakamāu Kāl VI, 20
 palakamāmū Kāl. VI, 20, Dhau. VI, 5; Jau VI, 5.
 palakamena Dhau VI, 7, Jau VI, 7
 palakamēnā Kāl VI, 21, X, 28
 palata Kāl. VI, 20, IX, 26, 27, XI, 30, Dhau VI, 6, Jau VI, 6
 p[ar]a-p[ar]a Kāl XII, 31
 p[ar]a-p[ar]a Kāl XII, 32.
 pala-pashada Kāl. XII, 33
 palalokajam Dhau Sep II, 6
 palalokikyā Kāl XIII, 18.
 palalokije Kāl XIII, 17 f.
 palalogam Jau Sep II, 7
 palasate Tōp V, 6.
 [pa]l[aj]kame Sah. 5
 -[pa]l[aj]kame Sah. 5
 paliklesam Dhau. Sep. I, 8, Jau. Sep. I, 4.
 palik[aj]e Jau. Sep. I, 21
 Jau Sep. I, 10.
 -palig[aj]dha[ye] Shāh. V, 12.
 palitum[aj] Dhau X, 3; Jau X, 3.
 palitutu Kāl X, 28.
 -Palidesu Shāh XIII, 10
 -palipuchhā Kāl. VIII, 23, Jau. VIII, 3.
 -palibodhaye Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.
 -palibodhāye Kāl V, 15; Dhau V, 5.
 [pa]libodhe Dhau. Sep. I, 20.
 palibhasayam Tōp III, 21
 -palibhāyām Cak. 4, 6.
 paliyovadhāna Tōp VII, 22
 paliyovadamtu Tōp. VII, 22
 pal[isha] Dhau X, 3
 palisave Kāl. X, 28.
 -palisave Dhau X, 3, Jau X, 2
 palisā Kāl. III, 8, Dhau III, 3
 [pa]lisāy[am] Jau VI, 4.
 palisāyā Dhau VI, 3
 palisāye Kāl VI, 3
 palihatave Tōp IV, 11
 palikhaya Nand I, 3
 palikhāyā Tōp I, 4
 pavajitām Gir. XII, 1, Kāl. XII, 31.
 pavajitānām Tōp VII, 25.
 pavadhayamtu Mān IV, 16
 pavadhayamtu Kāl IV, 12, Dhau IV, 6, Jau IV, 6.
 pavatayevā Tōp. IV, 5, 13
 pavatau Dhau I, 1; Jau I, 1.
 -pavatau Bar II, 3
 pavataviyā Brah 10, Jat. 15
 pavataviyā Brah 11, Jat. 18 f
 pavat[aj] Rūp 4
 pavatesu Sah. 7
 pavasati (read pasavatu) Kāl. IX 26.
 pavasati Kāl IX, 24, Dhau IX, 1, Jau IX, 1
 pavithalsamtu Tōp VII, 22.
 -pasada- Kāl XII, 31.
 pasavati Kāl XI, 30
 pasu-[ch]ikava Shāh II, 4, Mān II, 7
 pasu-manusānam Shāh II, 5
 pasu-m[un]janam Mān II, 8
 pasopakana Shāh II, 5
 -pashmada- Shāh. XII, 3
 p[ar]a p[ar]am[nā] Kāl XII, 34.
 -pashada Mān VII, 34, XII, 4, 5, 6.
 -pashada- Shāh XII, 9, Mān XII, 3, 5, 9.
 -pashadana Mān. XII, 2, 7
 -pashadani Mān. XII, 1
 -pashadasa Mān XII, 4
 -p[ar]a-p[ar]a Shāh. V, 21
 pasati Gir I, 5
 pasavatu Kāl. IX, 27.
 -pasave Cak. 5
 pasu-opagāmī Dhau II, 3, Jau II, 3.
 pasu-chikisā Kāl. II, 5, Dhau. II, 2, Jau II, 3.
 pasu-chikichā Gir. II, 5.
 pasu-manusānam Gir. II, 8
 pasu-munisānam Kāl. II, 6; Tōp. VII, 23, 24.
 pasopagāmī Gir. II, 6, Kāl. II, 5
 -pahata Ar. VI, 21.
 -pahatā Tōp VI, 3
 pā (read p) Rūp. 3
 Pāta Sār. 3

- [illegible]

Rh

bahum Kāl. I, 3, IV, 9, Shāh I,
 2, IV, 7, Mān. I, 4, IV, 12.
 bahune Tōp VII, 22.
 bahuvidha Shāh XII, 2; Mān IX,
 3, XII, 2
 bahuvudham Gir. IX, 3, Kāl. IX,
 24, Shāh. IV, 9, IX, 18, Dhau
 IX, 2
 bahuvudh Gir. XII, 2; Kāl XII,
 31
 bahuvudh Gir. IV, 7; Kāl. IV, 11,
 Mān. IV, 15, Dhau. IV, 4; Jau
 IV, 5, Tōp II, 12
 bahuvudhena Tōp. VII, 27
 bahuvudhena Tōp. VII, 25
 bahu-śrūta Shāh XII, 7, Mān
 XII, 6
 bahu-śrūta Gir. XII, 7
 bahul. Kāl. IV, 10, Shāh. IV, 8,
 Mān IV, 14.
 bahūni Gir. I, 8 f., IV, 1; Dhau
 IV, 1, Jau. I, 3, IV, 1, Tōp
 II, 14.
 bahūsu Dhau Sep. I, 4, Jan. Sep
 I, 2, Tōp IV, 3
 bahūti Gir. IV, 4, Dhau IV, 3,
 Jau IV, 1
 bādha Kāl XIII, 16, Tōp. III, 21,
 Bar. 3, Sidd. 5, Jatt. 4.
 bādham Gu VII, 4, XII, 2, Kāl
 VII, 22, Dhau. VII, 2, Jau
 VII, 2, Tōp VII, 22, A. III,
 1, Shā. 1, Bar 2, Brah. 2, 3,
 Sidd 6
 bādhataram Gir. XII, 6.
 bādhatale Kāl XII, 33
 bādhi Rūp. 1, 2.
 bābhana-samanesu Tōp. VII, 29
 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 Kāl XIII, 37
 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 VIII, 3, IX,
 4, Jau. IX, 4
 bābha[n]būbhi[re]su Dhau. V, 5
 bābhānesu Tōp VII, 25
 -bābhānesu Dhau IV, 1, 4
 bābhana-samanānam Gir. III, 4 f.,
 VIII, 3
 bābhana-s[ra]manā[nam] Gir. XI,
 2.
 bābhana Gir. XIII, 3.
 bāhura(re)su Gir. V, 7
 bāhūku Kāl V, 16, Dhau. V, 6
 Bu[dha]-Śakte Mās. 2
 Budhasa Nig. 2
 Budhaya Calc. 2
 Budhe Rum 2
 Budhena Calc 3, 6
 bramana Shāh XIII, 4
 -bramanā Shāh IX, 19, XI, 21,
 Mān. IV, 12, VIII, 35, IX, 5,
 XI, 13
 -bramananam Shāh. IV, 7, VIII,
 17.
 [bra]mana-bramaṇa Shāh IV,
 81.
 bramana-bramanana[m] Shāh III,
 6, Mān III, 11
 bramānbhesu Shāh. V, 12.
 bramānbhyesu Mān. V, 23.
 [bramane] Mān. XIII, 6.
 bramana-samanānam Gir. IV, 6
 bra[m]ana-samanānam Gir. IV, 2.

[illegible]

bhi khun [nəh Sām 3,
 bhukhu-]p[əye Cāl 7
 bhukhu-samghasī Sā 5,
 [bhukh] n Sār 4
 [bhu*]khūna[m] Sām 3
 -bhita Ar. IV, 2, 6,
 -bhita Tōp. IV, 4, 12
 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 8

M

ma Kal XIII, 16, Shāh IV, 10
XIII, 11, Mān IV, 18
ma Shāh III, 5, V, 11, 13, Mān
V, 19, 25
mam Top IV, 8, 9
mangala Shāh IX, 18.
mangala Shāh IX, 18
mangalam Gur IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6,
Kāl IX, 24, Shāh IX, 18, 19,
Mān IX, 3, Dhau IX, 1, 2,
Jau IX, 2
-mangalam Gur IX, 5, Shāh IX,
19
mangale Gur IX, 4, Kāl IX, 25
Dhau IX, 3, Jau IX, 2
-mangale Gur IX, 4, Dhau IX,
3, 4

-mamgalena Shāh IX, 20.
mamhate Gir XII, 2, 8
mamhā Gir XIII, 11.
mamnam[u] (*read* mamnatu) Kāl
XIII, 14
mamnat[i] Kāl XII, 34.
mam[ai]c] Dhau X, 1
Maka Shāh XIII, 9, Mān XIII,
10
Makā Kāl XIII, 7
magalam Gir IX, 3, Kāl IX, 24,
Mān IX, 1, 3
magalete Shāh IX 20
magalete Kāl IX 26, Mān IX, 20,
Mān IX, 4, 6
-magale Kāl IX, 25, 26, Mān
IX, 4, 5, 7.
-magalen[ā] Kāl IX, 27
magavyā Gir VIII, 1
Magā Gir XIII, 8
ma[gsu] Mān II, 8
magusu Kāl II, 6, Dhau, II, 4,
Jau II, 4, Tōp VII, 23
magu Gir I, 11, 12
machhe Tōp V, 13
-machhe Tōp V, 4, 5
majura Shāh I, 3, Mān I, 4f
majūā Kāl I, 4, Jau, I, 4
majham Dhau Sep. I, 10, Jau
Sep. I, 5
majhamena Gir XIV, 2
majmūā Tōp I, 7
majhme[na] Dhau, XIV, 1, Jau
XIV, 1.
majhmenā Kāl XIV, 20
mahatu Shāh X, 21, XII, 2, 8,
Mān X, 9, XII, 2
mahat[u] Shāh XIII, 11
mahate Gir X, 1
mahishu Shāh XIII, 11
mate Kāl XIII, 35, 39, Mān
XIII, 2
manati Mān XII, 7, XIII, 12.
man[ishu] Mān XIII, 12
mata Gir XIII, 1
-mata Gir XIII, 2, Mān I, 3,
Dhau Sep. I, 3, II, 2, Jau Sep
I, 2, II, 2
-matam Shāh VI, 15, XIII, 3, 6, 7
-matataram Shāh XIII, 3
-matatule Kāl XIII, 36
mata-pitusu Shāh III, 6, IV, 9,
XI, 23, XIII, 4, Mān III, 10,
IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4
-matā Gir I, 6, Kāl I, 2; Dhau
I, 2, Jau I, 2
-mate Gir VI, 9, Kāl XIII, 38,
39, Shāh I, 2, XIII, 7, Mān
VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7, Dhau VI,
4, Tōp VI, 9
-mat[o] Gir XIII, 6
-matre Shāh XIII, 1, Mān XIII,
1
madava Kāl XIII, 4
madave Tōp VII, 28
madhuryaye Shāh XIV, 13, Mān
XIV, 14
madhuryaye Kāl XIV, 22
manatu Kāl X, 27, XII, 31
manatu Kāl XIII, 17
manishu Kāl XIII, 16

manuā-chikus Shāh. II, 4, Mān.
II, 7.
-manusanah Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 6,
Mān XIII, 6
manuopakani Shāh. II, 5
m[a]nu-hān[a] Kāl XIII, 39
-manu[shāna]m Kāl XIII, 38
manusa-chikus Kāl II, 5
manusa-chikichā Gir II, 5
-manusānam Gir II, 8.
manusopagānu Gir II, 5; Kāl
II, 5.
man[o]-atleke Dhau. Sep. I, 16;
Jau Sep. I, 8.
mama Gir. III, 2, V, 2, Kāl III,
7, Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 23, II, 2,
4, 5, 9, Jau Sep. I, 8, II, 9, 11,
13, Tōp I, 5, VII, 27; Ar. IV, 6.
mamam Jau Sep. II, 7
mamate Dhau Sep. II, 5, Jau
Sep. II, 6.
mamayā Kāl V, 13, 14, VI, 17,
19, Dhau. VI, 2, Jau VI, 1,
Tōp VII, 24, Rair. 3
mamā Kāl V, 13, 16, Dhau. Sep.
I, 5, 12, II, 6, Tōp. IV, 12
mamāye Dhau Sep. II, 4
mamāyā Tōp VII, 28.
mamāyāe Jau Sep. II, 6.
maya Shāh V, 11, 12, VI, 14, 15,
Mān V, 19, 21, VI, 27, 29
mayā Gir III, 1, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 8,
Brah. 3, Sidd. 6.
maye Dhau Sep. II, 8, Jau Sep.
II, 11
mayānam Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh
XIII, 3
[marane] Mān XIII, 3.
malane Kāl XIII, 36
mahamte Dhau XIV, 2; Jau
XIV, 1
mahathrvahā Shāh X, 21.
mahatnā Rūp. 2, Sah 3
ma[h]aneva Rair 5.
[ma]hathāva (*read* 'thāhahā') Kāl
X, 27
mahathrvaham Mān X, 9.
mahana[sa] Shāh I, 2, Mān I, 3.
maha-phala Shāh IX, 18, XIII, 11;
Mān XIII, 12.
maha-phalā Kāl XIII, 14.
maha-phale Mān IX, 4.
mahamatā Jau. Sep. II, 1, All
Qu 1
-mahamatra Shāh V, 11, 12, 13,
XII, 9, Mān V, 21, 26, XII, 8.
mahamatrana Shāh VI, 14
mahamatranam Shāh VI, 15.
mahamatrehi Mān VI, 28
mahalake Shāh V, 13, XIV, 13,
Mān V, 24
mahā-apāye Dhau. Sep. I, 15
mahāpā Brah 6; Sidd. 12
mahāpeneva Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
mahāhāval[ā] Gir X, 1.
mahānas[am] Gir I, 7.
mahānasu Kāl I, 3, Jau I, 3.
mahāpāy[c] Jau Sep. I, 8
mahā-phale Gir IX, 4, Kāl IX,
25, Dhau IX, 3, Sep. I, 14,
Jau. Sep. I, 8.

-mahāmāta Kāl V, 14, 16
mahāmā[e]hu Kāl VI, 18
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1, All
Kauā. 1.
mahāmāta[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.
mahāmāta Dhau Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9,
Jau Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14, Tōp
VII, 26, Brah. 1, Sidd. 2
-mahāmāta Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9;
Kāl V, 14, XII, 34, Dhau V,
3, 7; Tōp I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26.
mahāmātanah Brah. 1; Sidd. 1f.
mahāmāte Sār. 8
mahāmātehu Dhau VI, 3, Jau
VI, 3
mahāmātesu Gir. VI, 6.
mahālakānam Tōp. VII, 29.
mahalak Gir XIV, 3; Kāl V, 16,
XIV, 20, Dhau V, 6
ma[hā]lakesu Dhau V, 5
mahādyo Gir IX, 3
mahāyte Rum. 2, Nig. 3
mā Gir XIII, 11, Kāl IV, 13.
Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8; Tōp
III, 21.
Magāde Calc. 1.
māta-pitusu Kāl III, 8.
mātari Gir. III, 4, IV, 6, XI, 2
mātā-pitusu Kāl XI, 20
mā'hā'pitu' *read* 'mā'hā' XIII 17
mā'hā'pitu' Kāl IV, 11, Dhau
III, 2, Tōp VII, 29, Brah. 9
[mā]hā'pitu' Jau 13.
mā'hā'pitu'-sūdhā Dhau IV, 4.
-mātu All Qu 5
-mātram Gir XIII, 1.
mātu[i] Gir XIII, 3
mādava Gir XIII, 7.
mādhyāye Jau XIV, 2
mādhyāyā Gir XIV, 4.
mānusānam Gir XIII, 5
mānu Tōp III, 20
magavyā Kāl VIII, 22, Dhau
VIII, 1.
mage Kāl I, 4, Jau I, 4
mita - samth[ui]a - shā[h]āya -
[nā]luka Kāl XIII, 38
mita-samth[ui]a[n] Kāl XI, 30
mita-samth[ui]a-nātikyanah Kāl
XI, 29
mita-samth[ui]a-shahāya-nātikeshu
Kāl XIII, 37.
mita-samth[ui]a-nātikyan[arh] Kāl
III, 8.
mita-samthuten[ā] Kāl IX, 25
mita-samthute[ā] Jau. III, 2
mita - samth[ui]a - shāhāya -
nātik[ui] Gir XIII, 3
mita-[sa]mth[ui]a-nātikyanam Gir XI, 2
mita - savutu[ā] - nā[i]k[ui]c]na Gir
XI, 3
-mate Kāl XIII, 35
mitene Jau IX, 5
mitra-[auh]... Mān XIII, 5
mit[r]a-sa[m]h[ui]a... Mān XIII, 4
mitra - sam[ui]a[n] - nātikana Mān
XI, 13
mitra-sam[ui]a-nātikana Shāh
III, 6, XI, 23, Mān III, 10f
mitra-samth[ui]a-nātikah Gir III, 4
mitra-samth[ui]a[n] Shāh XI, 24

yona-kateshu Shāh XIII, 9; Mān XIII, 9.
 [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl XIII, 6.
 Yona-K[a]mboja - Gamdhārānam Gir. V, 5.
 yote Tōp IV, 17.
 Yona - Kambhoja - Gamdhārānam Dhau V, 4.
 Yona - Kamb[o]ja - Gamdhārānam Kāl V, 15.
 Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.
 Yona-Kambojesu Kāl XIII, 9; Mān XIII, 10.
 Yona - Kamboja - Gamdharanam Shāh V, 12.
 Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Shāh XIII, 9.
 Yona-raja Shāh II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 [Yo]na-raja Gir. XIII, 8.
 Yona-raja Gir II, 3.
 Yona-raja Kāl II, 5, XIII, 6, Dhau II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 Yoneshu Kāl XIII, 18; Mān XIII, 6.
 Yone[wu] Gir. XIII, 5.

R

-rage Mān. VII, 33.
 -rago Shāh VII, 3.
 raja Shāh III, 5, VII, 1, VIII, 17, Mān. I, 2, III, 9, IV, 16, V, 19, VI, 26, VII, 32, VIII, 35, IX, 1, X, 4, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1.
 -raja Shāh II, 4, XIII, 9, Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 rajani Gir XIII, 9.
 [ra]jane Mān II, 6.
 rajano Shāh II, 4.
 raja-vishava[u] Mān XIII, 10.
 raja-vishavaspri Shāh XIII, 9.
 rajna Mān I, 1, IV, 18.
 rajne Mān I, 1, 3f, II, 5, 6, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 37, XIII, 1.
 rajuko Shāh III, 6.
 rana Shāh IV, 10, XIV, 13.
 raño Shāh I, 1, 2, II, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XIII, 1.
 Rathikanam Shāh V, 12.
 Rathika-Pitmikana Mān V, 22.
 ratu Gir VII, 5, Shāh VIII, 17, Mān VIII, 36.
 -ratu Shāh XIII, 12, Mān XIII, 13.
 [ra]tu Sōp VIII, 9.
 rabhasye Shāh XIII, 8.
 raya Shāh I, 1, V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, X, 21, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1.
 -raso Gir XIII, 10, Shāh XIII, 11.
 -rāgo Gir VII, 2.
 -rāja Gir XIII, 8.
 rāja-v[ra]yamhu Gir XIII, 9.
 rājā Gir 5, III, 1, IV, 8, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, 3, XI, 1, XII, 1.
 -rājā Gir II, 3.
 rājano Gir II, 4, VIII, 1, XIII, 8.
 rājuko Gir III, 2.

rāñā Gir. I, 2, IV, 12, XIV, 1.
 rāñō Gir. I, 7, 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 6, 8, VIII, 5.
 Ri(Ra)stka-P[e]jenkinām Gir. V, 5.
 ruchhanu Mān II, 8.
 rupani Shāh IV, 8, Mān. IV, 13.
 rūpanu Gir IV, 4.
 rochetu Shāh XIII, 11.
 ropapita Mān II, 7, 8.
 [ropa]p[ita] Mān II, 8.
 ropāp[ita] Gir. II, 8.
 ropāp[ita] Gir. II, 6, 7.

L

lakhane Tōp. V, 19.
 lagharhu Tōp. IV, 8.
 laja Kāl X, 27, 28.
 lajine Kāl XIII, 7.
 lajānā Kāl XIV, 10.
 laj[ya]k[ya] Dhau III, 1.
 lajūka Ar IV, 2, 5, 6.
 lajūkā Tōp IV, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, VII, 22.
 lajūkānam Tōp IV, 13.
 laj[ya]k[ya] Kāl III, 7.
 Lathika - [P]itenikau Dhau V, 4.
 -lau Kāl XIII, 11.
 ladha Shāh XIII, 11.
 ladhām Shāh IX, 20.
 ludhā Gir XIII, 10.
 ladhe Kāl IX, 27, XIII, 5, 12, Shāh XIII, 10, Mān XIII, 9, 11.
 ladhe-sha(shu) Kāl XIII, 35.
 ladhe[ya]shu Kāl XIII, 39; Shāh XIII, 2, Mān XIII, 2.
 ladhesu Gir XIII, 1.
 ladhe Gir XIII, 8, Shāh XIII, 8.
 [la]putam Shāh XIV, 13.
 la[p]u[c] Kāl XIV, 21f, Mān XIV, 14.
 -lase Kāl XIII, 13.
 laha(hu)ka Kāl XII, 32.
 lahu(hu)ka Mān Kāl XII, 32.
 lahu Tōp VII, 30.
 lahuka Shāh XII, 3, XIII, 11, Mān XII, 3.
 lahukā Gir XII, 3, Kāl XIII, 14.
 [lahu]k[ya] Tōp VII, 24.
 lahu-da[m]dita Shāh XIII, 11.
 lahu-damdaia Kāl XIII, 10f.
 lahuy[u] Jau. Sep II, 6.
 lahuvu Dhau Sep II, 5.
 la(h)khapeta-aya Rūp 5.
 -lāga Dhau VII, 2, Jau. VII, 1.
 -lā[g]e Kāl VII, 21.
 Lāghulovāde Calc. 5f.
 laja Kāl IV, 1, Dhau Sep II, 4, Tōp I, 1, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, Bar. III, 1.
 lā[ya]-vachamk[a] Jau Sep II, 1.
 lā[ya]-visavashi Kāl XIII, 9.
 laja Kāl I, 2, III, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 28, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 2, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1, Jau. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, Sep. II, 5, 6, 10, Tōp. VII, 11, 14, 19, 23.

26, 28, 29, All I, 1, II, 1, III, 1, V, 1; Calc. 1.
 -laja Kāl II, 5, Dhau II, 1, Jau. II, 2.
 lajane Dhau. II, 2, VIII, 1, Jau II, 2, Tōp. VII, 12, 15.
 laj[ya]nā Kāl II, 5.
 laj[ya]d[ya] Dhau Sep I, 15.
 laj[ya]d[ya] dhau Sep I, 8.
 lajina Rumi 1, N. 1.
 lajina Kāl IX, 13, Dhau I, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2, Bar. I, 1, II, 1.
 lajine Kāl I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9, 10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 35, Dhau I, 3, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII, 3, Sep I, 26, Jau. I, 3, II, 1, IV, 2, 6, VIII, 4, Sep II, 11.
 lajhu Tōp VII, 24.
 lau Kāl VIII, 23.
 lau-sata Sah 6f.
 -labhesu Gir. IX, 2.
 [la]khapita Mān I, 1, XIV, 13.
 lkhapito(ta) Shāh I, 1.
 lkhapite Mān. IV, 18.
 lkhapetam Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.
 [lkhap]eta Sah 8.
 [lkhap]eta Sah 7.
 lkhap[ya]yami Calc. 8.
 lkhap[ya]yram Gir. XIV, 3.
 lkhap[ya]p[ita] Tōp VII, 31.
 lkhap[ya] Ar. I, 2, II, 3, IV, 1, VI, 1, 5.
 lkhap[ya] Kāl XIV, 19, Dhau I, 1, Jau. I, 1, Tōp I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 lkhita Shāh I, 3; Mān I, 4, V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 12, Dhau. Sep I, 19, Jau Sep II, 14.
 lkhitam Gir XIV, 3, 5, Shāh XIV, 14, Jat 21.
 lkhita Gir I, 10, V, 9; Kāl XIII, 15, Dhau I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9, Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep I, 10.
 lkhite Kāl IV, 12, XIV, 21, 23, Shāh. XIV, 13, Mān IV, 18, XIV, 14, Dhau IV, 7, 8, XIV, 2, 3, Brah. 13.
 lkhuy[ya]m* Dhau. XIV, 2.
 lhu Dhau Sep I, 17, 19, II 9, 10.
 -lhu Kāl I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 15, XIV, 19, Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 lupin Sār 7.
 lupkarāparallhena Gir. XIV, 6.
 lupkarana Brah. 13, Jat 22.
 lup[ya]k[ya]ladhena Kāl XIV, 21.
 lupi Jau Sep I, 9, 10, II, 14, 15, Sār 6.
 -lup Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1, Dhau I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1, Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6, All VI, 3.
 -lubi Tōp. VII, 31, 32.
 Lurhmini-gāme Rum 4.
 lukhāni Kāl II, 6, Dhau II, 4, Jau II, 4.
 lupāni Kāl IV, 10.
 lupāni Dhau IV, 3, Jau IV, 3.

- vāṣya Shāh. XIII, 8, 12.
vāṣya Shāh. XIII, 1, Mān. XIII, 1.
vāṣya Gir XIV, 3.
-vāṣya Kāl XIII, 36; Shāh XIII, 3.
vāṣyam Gir II, 1.
vāṣya Kāl II, 4, III, 7, V, 16, Mān. II, 6, III, 9, V, 25, XII, 8; Dhau II, 1, III, 1, 1; Jau II, 1.
vāṣya Kāl XIII, 35.
-vāṣyam Dhau Sep II, 4, Jau Sep II, 4 f.
vāṣya Gir III, 2, Kāl XIV, 20 f., Shāh II, 3, III, 6, V, 13, XIII, 7, XIV, 13.
vāṣyamane Kāl XIII, 36.
[vāṣyamano Shāh XIII, 3].
vāṣya Kāl XIII, 36.
vāṣya [vāṣya Shāh XIII, 11].
vāṣyavam Gir XIII, 11.
vāṣyatena Jau XIV, 1.
vāṣyatē Kāl XIV, 20.
vāṣyalām Tōp VI, 6.
vāṣya Calc 2.
vāṣyanam Kāl XIII, 11, Shāh XIII, 10, Mān XIII, 11.
vāṣyāne Tōp I, 9.
vāṣya Tōp I, 9.
[vāṣya] All Qu 4.
Vāṣya-namukase Calc 4.
vāṣya [vāṣya] Mān XIII, 5.
vāṣyānam Gir XIII, 4.
vāṣyānamane Kāl XIII, 37.
[vāṣya] Kāl VI, 18.
vāṣyapā Shāh VI, 14, Mān VI, 27.
vāṣyapā Gir VI, 4.
vāṣyapā Dhau VI, 2, Jau VI, 2.
vāṣyapāyamam Jau Sep I, 8.
[vāṣya] [vāṣyayamine Dhau Sep I, 15].
-vāṣyine Kāl XIII, 38, Mān XIII, 5.
vāṣya Rūp 4.
vāṣyām Shāh 5, Brah 7. Sidd 14, Jat 11.
vāṣya Gir VII, 3, Kāl VII, 21, Shāh VII, 4, Mān VII, 33, Dhau VII, 2, Jau VII, 2, Shāh 4, Bar 6, Brah 5, Sidd 10.
-vāṣyāno Shāh XIII, 5.
-vāṣyāna Nand IV, 9.
vāṣyāna-dasana [vāṣya] Kāl IV, 9.
vāṣyāna-dasana Mān IV, 13.
vāṣyāna [vāṣya] Shāh IV, 8.
-vāṣyāna Tōp IV, 13.
vāṣyāna-dasana Gir IV, 1.
vāṣyāna-dasana Dhau IV, 2.
vāṣyānamane Kāl III, 8, Mān III, 11 f., Dhau III, 3, Jau III, 4.
vāṣyānamane Sār 10, 11.
vāṣya Tōp IV, 11.
vāṣya [vāṣya] Dhau III, 3.
vāṣya Tōp IV, 10.
vāṣyapā Shāh V, 13, Mān V, 25.
vāṣyapā Kāl V, 15.
vāṣyapā Shāh V, 13, Mān V, 23.
vāṣyapā Mān V, 24.
vāṣyānam Kāl XIII, 38.
-vāṣya Kāl III, 8, 12.
vāṣya Kāl V, 14, 16, XII, 34, Dhau V, 4, 5, 6, 7, Tōp VI, 25, 26, 27.
vāṣyapāte Tōp VII, 25, 27.
vāṣyapāte [vāṣya] Dhau IX, 6.
vāṣyapānam Tōp IV, 7, 9.
-vāṣyāhāla Kāl Sep I, 1.
[vāṣyāhāla Dhau Sep I, 1, 20].
vāṣyāhāla-mata Tōp IV, 15.
vāṣya Shāh VI, 14, 15, Mān VI, 29.
vāṣyapāte [vāṣya] Rūp 5.
vāṣyānam Mān IX, 2.
vāṣya Shāh IX, 2.
vāṣya Kāl VI, 19, Dhau VI, 3, Jau VI, 3.
vāṣya Gir VI, 7.
vāṣya [vāṣyā] Gir XII, 1.
vāṣyāhāla Sār 10.
vāṣya Rūp 6.
vāṣyāhāla Sār 11.
vāṣyānam Kāl IX, 24.
vāṣyāhāla Kāl XII, 31, Shāh XII, 1, Mān XII, 1.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp VII, 22.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp VI, 8.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp VII, 24.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp II, 13, IV, 20.
vāṣyāhāla Sār 7.
[vāṣyāhāla Sār 6].
-vāṣyāhāla Kāl XIII, 9.
-vāṣyāhāla [vāṣya] Mān XIII, 10.
-vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 9.
-vāṣyāhāla Sār 10.
-vāṣyāhāla Tōp VII, 27.
-vāṣyāhāla Tōp VII, 27.
-vāṣyāhāla [vāṣya] Gir XIII, 9.
vāṣyāhāla [vāṣya] Gir XIV, 2.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIV, 13.
vāṣyāhāla Sār 8, 9.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh VIII, 17, Mān VIII, 34.
vāṣyāhāla Gir VIII, 1.
-vāṣyāhāla Calc 1.
[vāṣyāhāla] Kāl VIII, 22, Dhau VIII, 1.
-vāṣyāhāla Gir IV, 1.
-vāṣyāhāla Tōp VII, 30.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 4, Mān XIII, 4.
-vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 5, Mān XIII, 5.
vāṣyāhāla Kāl XIII, 37.
-vāṣyāhāla Dhau Sep I, 8.
-vāṣyāhāla Kāl XIII, 38.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh IV, 7, Mān IV, 12.
-vāṣyāhāla Shāh IV, 8, Mān IV, 14.
vāṣyāhāla Kāl IV, 9; Dhau IV, 1.
-vāṣyāhāla Kāl IV, 10, Dhau IV, 4, Jau IV, 4.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp V, 10.
-vāṣyāhāla Gir IV, 6.
-vāṣyāhāla Gir XIII, 10.
[vāṣyāhāla] Dhau IX, 1.
-vāṣyāhāla Gir IX, 2.
vāṣyāhāla-bhūstana Rūp 1.
vāṣyāhāla Kāl XII, 33, XIII, 4, 14.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 8, Mān XIII, 8.
-vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 10.
vāṣyāhāla Kāl XIII, 38.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh IV, 9, VIII, 12.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh VIII, 4.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh VIII, 2, Sōp VIII, 7.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh V, 12.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh II, 11.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh IX, 2, Kāl XIII, 11; Shāh X, 11, Mān X, 10.
[vāṣyāhāla Shāh IV, 15, VIII, 35].
vāṣyāhāla Shāh V, 23.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh VIII, 2.
vāṣyāhāla-mata Gir XIII, 2.
[vāṣyāhāla] Shāh XIII, 11.
vāṣyāhāla-mata Mān XIII, 3.
vāṣyāhāla-mata Kāl XIII, 36.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh Sep I, 5.
vāṣyāhāla Tōp V, 4.
[vāṣyāhāla] Shāh Sep II, 11.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh Sep II, 6, 8, Jau Sep II, 8 f.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh I, 3, III, 6, IV, 7, IX, 20, XII, 6, XIII, 6, 7, XIV, 13.
Mān IV, 12, XII, 6.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 4.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh III, 5.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 4.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh IV, 6, 7, 8, XII, 9.
[vāṣyāhāla Rūp 5].
vāṣyāhāla Shāh 8.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh V, 11.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh XIII, 10.
vāṣyāhāla-bhūstana Shāh XII, 9, Mān XII, 8.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh VI, 14, Mān VI, 27.
[vāṣyāhāla] Shāh VI, 16.
vāṣyāhāla Shāh II, 8.
-vāṣyāhāla Mān XII, 2.
ś
-śamth [vāṣya] Kāl XIII, 38.
-śamthāhāla [vāṣya] Kāl XI, 30.
-śake Mān 2.
śakā Shāh XIII, 7.
[śakā] Shāh Siddi 17.
-śakā Shāh IV, 7; Mān IV, 12.
śakā-bhage Shāh XIII, 7, Mān XIII, 7.
[śakā] Shāhāhāla-mata Kāl XIII, 35.
-śakā-sahasam Shāh I, 2.
[śakā] Shāhāhāla-mata Shāh XIII, 1.
-śakā [śakā] Shāh XIII, 1.
-śakā Shāh XIII, 9, Mān XIII, 9.
-śakā Shāh IV, 8, Mān IV, 14.
śamāna-bramāna Shāh IX, 19, Mān VII, 35.
[śakā] Shāh Kāl XII, 31.
[śakā] Shāh Kāl XII, 31.
[śakā] Shāh Kāl XII, 31.
[śakā] Shāh Kāl XII, 31.

śvayū Kal. XII, 31.
[śilana] Shāh. XIII, 2
[ślusa] Shāh IV, 9, Mān. IV, 17
śle Shāh IV, 9, Mān. IV, 16
-śuta(dni) Mān. VII, 33
-śudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 5, Mān. VII,
13
[śe] Kal XI, 30.
śrama[n] Shāh XIII, 4.
-śramanana Shāh. IV, 9, Mān.
IV, 15
-śramanana[m] Shāh III, 6, Mān.
III, 12
śramana-śramanana Shāh. XI, 23,
Mān IV, 12, IX, 5, XI, 13
śramana-śramanam Shāh IV, 7,
VIII, 17
śra[m] Mān. XIII, 6
śravak. Shāh. VI, 14, 15
śravakam Mān VI, 28
śru na śrī XII 7, Mān. XII, 6.
śru na XI, 7; Mān. XII, 6
śrutu Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII,
11.
Śvage Bair 6.

Sh

sha Shāh VI, 16
sharmkhye (*read* 'khaya) Kal XIV,
23
-shambhuta- Kāl XI, 29, XIII, 37
-shambadh[e] Kāl. XI, 29
-shar[a]-shah[a] [je] Kāl. XIII, 15.
shar[ā] Kāl. XIII 19
shama Kāl. XII, 6
[shamacha] [iya] m Kāl. XIII, 4
shama[n] Kāl. XIII, 37
shamanie Kāl. XIII, 39
shamayatte Kāl. XII, 33
shamy-patipatti Kāl. XI, 29, XIII,
37.
shayakashi Kāl. XIII, 16
[shayama] Kāl. XIII, 4.
[shaya] Kāl X, 28
shava[m] Kāl X, 28
[sha]vata Kāl. XIII, 10.
shava-peshmadam (*read* 'dānam
tu) Kāl. XII, 34
sha[v-a-bhu] [tan am'] Kāl. XIII, 4
sh[a]-va-manu[śhāna] m kāl. XIII,
38
shavā Kāl. XIII, 18
sh[a]vām[ij]yāna (*read* shu') Kāl
XI, 30
-shaw[i]bhag. Kāl. XI, 29
shave Kāl. XII, 33
shaveshtu Kāl. XIII, 6.
ashastu Kāl. XIII, 9, Shāh. XIII,
9, Mān. XIII, 6
-shaha[je] Kāl. XIII, 15
-[sha] bha-sha Kāl. XIII, 15
shai[ā] bha-sha Kāl. XIII, 39
shā Kāl. XIII, 17, 38
shā Kāl. XIII, 18
shādhu Kāl. XI, 30, XII, 33.
shā[shu]vā Kāl. XIV, 22
shā[jla-v]a[dhu] Kāl. XII, 34
shā[va]-pa-ham dān Kāl. XIII, 31
shamehe Kāl. XIII, 38.
shiyuvā Kāl. X, 28.

-shuā Kāl XII, 34.
shuñe[y]u Kāl XII, 33.
shuñih[ī] jānam Kāl XIII, 38
shoñshuā Kāl XI, 29
-shuñshuā Kāl XIII, 37
-shu[hu*]ñhā Kāl XIII, 37
shushu-heyu Kāl XII, 33
shu Kāl XII, 13, XIII, 36, 38, 39,
5, 17, XIV, 22, Mān. VI, 31,
All Ou 4.

S

5. *Shah V*, 11, *XIII*, 10, 11, 12,
 6. *Mān XIII*, 11, *Jau*, *Sep* 1, 8,
 11, 9,
 7. *samkhuṭa-machhe Tōp V*, 5
 8. *samkhutena Shāh XIV*, 13,
 9. *samkhuṭa Shāh. XIV*, 14, *Mān*.
 XIV, 14
 10. *samkhutajana Gr*, *XIV*, 2,
 11. *samgham All Kauṭ 3*, *Sām*, 4,
 12. *Sār 4*, *Calc 1*, *Mao 3*
 13. *samghathasi Tōp VII*, 25
 14. *sa[m]h[ā]sa All. Kauṭ. 2*
 15. *samghasi Sār. 5*
 16. *samghasi Calc 2*
 17. *samgha Sām 2, 8*, *Sār 3*, *Brah*
 18. *3*, *Sidd 6*
 19. *sa[m]h[ā]sa Sep I*, 13
 20. *sa[m]h[ā]sa J. Sep I*, 7
 21. *samchalitu Jau Sep I*, 7
 22. *samkade Tōp V*, 6
 23. *samta Mān VI*, 29, *Sah 2*
 24. *samtam Kṛl VI*, 19, *VIII*, 22,
 25. *Shāh VI*, 15, *Mān VIII*, 35
 26. *Dhau VI*, 3, *Jau Sep II*, 16,
 27. *Tōp IV*, 13
 28. *-samitana Shāh VI*, 15
 29. *-sa[m]luranaya Shāh VI*, 15, *Mān*
 VI, 29
 30. *-samtānā Kāl VI*, 20
 31. *-sa[m]l[ā]naya Kāl VI*, 19
 32. *-samtānā Gr VI*, 10.
 33. *-samtānāya Gr VI*, 9
 34. *-samtānā Dhau VI*, 5, *Jau VI*, 5
 35. *-samtānāya Dhau VI*, 4, *Jau*
 VI, 4
 36. *samto Gr VI*, 7, *VIII*, 2
 37. *-samthāy[ke] Mān XI*, 12
 38. *-santhūsa Kāl III*, 8.
 39. *-samthuten[ā] Kāl IX*, 25
 40. *-samthuten[ā] III 2*
 41. *samtpatrayajati Dhau Sep I*, 10
 42. *sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati[ti] Dhau Sep*
 I, 16, *Jau Sep I*, 8
 43. *-sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati A. II, 4*
 44. *-sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati II, 16*
 45. *-sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati Kāl I*, 11, *Shāh IV*
 46. *-sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati Mān IX*, 15, *Dhau IV*
 47. *-sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati Kāl IV*, 9, *Shāh IV*
 48. *7*, *Mān. IV*, 12, *Dhau IV*, 1,
 49. *Sep I*, 15, *Jau Sep I*, 8,
 50. *samtpatraya Gr IV*, 6
 51. *[sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati] sam[ā]jam Jau Sep*
 I, 7 f
 52. *samtpatrayati[ti] Jau Sep*. II
 16
 53. *[sa[m]p[ā]t[ra]jati] Dhau Sep I*, 14

sampattiṭṭāyanti Tōp I, 8
saṁpattiṭṭāyante Dhaṇ Sep 1
19, II, 11.
saṁpattiṭṭāyā Tōp VII, 29
[saṁpattiṭṭāy Gir IV, 2,
-saṁpattiṭṭāy Gir IV, 2,
-saṁba] m[ā]hā Shāh XI, 23
[saṁ] m[ā]hā m[ā]hā c[ā] Mān XI, 12
-saṁbaddho Gir XI, 1
Saṁboddhi Kāl. VIII, 22, Dhaṇ
VIII, 2
Saṁboddham Gir VIII, 2
saṁbudda-patipatti Shāh XI, 23
saṁmyā-patipatti Dhaṇ IX, 3, Jau
IX, 3
sa[m]yama Shāh XIII, 8
saṁyame Kāl IX, 25, Tōp IV
20
sa[m]yamo Shāh IX, 19
-saṁyut Man V, 25
saṁvachchare Sudd 6
saṁvachcharuṁ (*read* "r") Brah 2
saṁvata-kappa Gir V, 2
-saṁvāhiga Mān XI, 12
-saṁvāhiga Shāh XI, 23
-saṁvāhiga Ar IV, 10
-saṁvāhiga Kāl XI, 1
sa[m]hāyake Gir IX, 26
saṁsānasa Sār 6
-saṁsāsa[sa] Shāh Gir XIII, 3
-saṁsāsa[c] Shāh XI, 23
-saṁsāsa Gir XI, 1
-saṁsāsa Gir III, 4, Shāh III,
6, XI, 23, XIII, 4, 5, Mān III
10, XI, 13
-saṁsāsa[sa] Shāh XI, 23
-saṁsāsa Mān IX, 1, 2
-saṁsāsa Gir IX, 8, XIII, 6
[sa]ka Jā dāsa aṁjijke (*read*
-dāsaṁjijke) Jau Sep II, 11
sakile Gir X, 3; Kāl X, 28
Shāh X, 22, Mān X, 11
Dhaṇ X, 1, Jau X, 2
sakye Jau IX, 6, Sep II, 7, Rup
3.
sake Maṣ 5, Sudd 9, 10
[Sa]k[c] Rūp 1
Sakyaṁ Rūm 2
sakye Brah 4, 5
[sa]khaṇṇasāsa Dhaṇ Sep I 22
sagha[a] Rūp 1
saghe Hau 3
sacham Brah 9, Jat 11
sachē Tōp II, 12, VII 28
sachhi 11 Gir XIV, 5
sajye Tōp V, 9
-saddavasi Tōp V, 19
saddavasi-vāsa-dhānasa Tōp I
1 f, IV, 11, V, f, VI, 19
saddavasi-vāsa-dhānasa Ar V, 1
saddavasi-vāsa-dhānasa Ar I
IV, 1, VI 5, All V, 1
sata Rup 5
satan Shāh IV, 14, VIII, 17
satavasa-vasāh[sa]tana Tōp VII
31
-sata-saṁ[a]kāmi Jau I, 3
-sata-saṁsaṁ Tōp IV, 3, VII, 22
[sa]ta-saṁsaṁ-maṁam Gir XIII, 1
-sata saṁsaṁ Gir I, 9
-sata Shāh 7

-satāni Gir IV, 1; Kāl. IV, 9,
Dhau IV, 1, Jau IV, 1
Satiyaput[ic] Jau II, 1
Satiyaputo Gir II, 2
Sa[n]ya[n]p[ur]a Mān II, 6
Satiyaputro Shāh II, 4
-satāna Mān VI, 30
-satēhi Gir IV, 4; Kāl IV, 10;
Dhau IV, 3, Jau IV, 3
sathamme Calc. 3.
sādhū Shāh III, 6, 7, IV, 10, IX,
19, XI 24, XII, 6, Mān. III,
10, 11, IV, 17, IX, 6, XI, 14,
XII, 6.
saj[dhū]-mata Mān I, 3
sanandhāpayitu All. Kauś. 4,
Sām 6
sapaṃnā Sah 6
-sapaṭṭhū Mān IV, 12
Sabodhi Shāh VIII, 17, Mān
VIII, 36
-sāmā (read samayam) Jau Sep
II, 14
samamta Shāh II, 4
samage All Kauś. 2; Sām. 2, 8
samaj[cha]r[ya]m Shāh XIII, 8
samacharām Gir XIII, 7.
samaja Shāh I, 1, Mān I, 3
[samajasa] Mān. I, 2.
samaj[e] Mān I, 2.
samānā Gir XIII, 3
-samanānam Gir. III, 5, IV, 6,
VIII, 3, IX, 5.
samata Mān II, 6.
-samatam Shāh. XIV, 14.
-samatā Tōp IV, 15
-samati Kāl XIV, 23, Dhau
XIV, 3
samana-hambhanānam Kāl. IV, 9,
VIII, 23, IX, 25
samana-lābhanānam Dhau VIII,
2, IX, 4; Jau IX, 4.
samana-lābhanesu Dhau. IV, 1, 4
-samanānam Kāl III, 8, IV, 11.
-samanā[la]mbhanānā Kāl XI, 29
-samanesu Tōp VII, 29.
-samanēhi Dhau III, 3; Jau
III, 3
samayam Dhau Sep I, 20; Jau
Sep. I, 10.
[sa]m[ayam] Dhau Sep II, 9.
[sa]m[ay]a[pi] Shāh I, 1.
samaye Shāh I, 2.
samavaye Mān XII, 6
samavāyu Gir XII, 6
samājamhi Gir I, 5
samājasa Dhau I, 2, Jau I, 2
samājasa Kāl I, 2.
samājā Gir I, 6, Kāl I, 2; Dhau
I, 2, Jau I, 2
samājē Kāl I, 2, Dhau. I, 2; Jau.
I, 2
samājō Gir. I, 4
-samaj[am] Gir XIV, 5.
samādāpayitave Tōp I, 8.
samānā Brah. 3, Sidd. 7
Samāp[ya]m Jau Sep. I, 1, II, 1
-samukase Calc. 4.
samma-patipati Shāh. IX, 19
samma-patipat[ū] Shāh. XIII, 5.
samya-patipati Mān. IX, 4, XI, 12.

samya-patipati Gir IX, 4, XI, 2.
[a]m[ya]-patip[ati] Kāl. IX, 25.
-sayake Tōp. V, 5
sayama Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII,
32
sayamam Gir. VII, 1, XIII, 7;
Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 1;
Jau. VII, 1
sayame Gir VII, 3, Kāl VII, 22,
Shāh. VII, 2; Mān. IX, 5;
Dhau VII, 2, Jau IX, 3; Ar.
IV, 10.
sayamo Gir. IX, 5, Shāh. XII, 6.
-sayute Shāh. V, 13, Dhau. V, 7.
sayame Mān VII, 33.
sayasake Gir XIII, 11.
sarvam Gir. VII, 2, XIV, 2.
sarvata Gir. II, 1, 7, III, 2, V, 8,
VII, 1, XIV, 2.
sarvatra Gir. II, 4, VI, 5, 8
sarvatra Gir. II, 6.
sarva-pāśādānam Gir XII, 8
sarva-loka-sukhāhara Gir colophon
[sa]rva-loka-hutam Gir. VI, 9
sarva-loka-hitatpā Gir VI, 11
[sa]rva-aveto Gir colophon
sarve Gir VI, 8, Calc. 3
sala-vadhi Shāh. XII, 2, 8, Mān.
XII, 2, 7
sala-vrudhi Mān XII, 2
sava Mān XIII, 13.
savam Gir. X, 1, 4, XII, 6, Kāl
VI, 17, 19, VII, 21, Shāh VI,
14, 15, X, 22, Dhau VI, 1, 4,
VII, 2, X, 3, Sep I, 7, Jau. VI,
1, 4, Sep. I, 4
sava-chati-rati Shāh. XIII, 12
savacharati Brah. 2, Sidd. 5.
[savachalāni] Sah. 1.
savaj[cha]hale Sah 2
savata-kapā Gir IV, 9
savata Gir XIII, 9; Shāh V, 13;
Dhau II, 1, 2, 3, V, 7, VI, 2, 4,
VII, 2, XIV, 1; Jau II, 1, 2, 3,
VI, 2, 4, VII, 1, XIV, 1, All.
Qu. 1, Sār 10
Kāl II 4, 7, 6, III, 7, V, 16,
VI, 14, 19, VII, 21, XIII, 13,
XIV, 20
savatra Gir. VI, 4, Shāh. II, 5,
III, 5, V, 13, VI, 14, 15, VII, 1,
XIII, 10, XIV, 13; Mān. II, 5,
Jau. II, 4.
savathā Gir XIII, 10.
sava-nikāyesu Tōp. VI, 7
[savane] Sah. 6.
sava-pāshamda Kāl. XII, 34.
sava-[pā]shamda Kāl. VII, 21
sava-pāśadānam Gir. XII, 7, Dhau
VII, 1, Jau VII, 1, Tōp VI, 7.
[sa]va-pāśādānam Gir. XII, 7
sava-pāśadāni Gir. XII, 1
sava-pāśadesu Gir. V, 4; Kāl V,
14, Dhau. V, 3; Tōp VII, 25.
sava-pūthaviyam Dhau. V, 7
sava-bhūtiānam Gir. XIII, 7
sava-mu[n]ā (read -munā) Jau.
Sep. I, 2.
sava-munā Jau Sep. II, 2 f
sava-munēsu Jau Sep. I, 3, II, 4
savara(ta) Rūp. 5.

sava-loka-hitam Shāh. VI, 15
sava-loka-hita Shāh VI, 16
sava-loka-hittāy Gir. VI, 14.
sava-loka-hittāye Kāl. VII, 20,
Dhau. VI, 7; Jau VI, 7.
sava-loka-hute Kāl. VI, 19, Dhau.
VI, 4; Jau VI, 6.
sava-loka-hitena Shāh VI, 16.
Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5
sava-lo[ka]-hitena Kāl. VI, 20.
savasa Dhau Sep. I, 12, Jau. Sep.
I, 6.
savasi Tōp. VII, 27
-savabhāge Tōp. IV, 20.
save Gir. VI, 3, VII, 1; Kāl. VII,
21, XIV, 20, Shāh VII, 2,
Dhau. VI, 1, XIV, 1, Sep. I, 4;
Jau VII, 1, XIV, 1; Tōp. V, 7
savēnā Jau Sep II, 3
savēna Dhau Sep I, 5, II, 3, Jau
Sep. I, 3, II, 3
saveshu Shāh. XIII, 8
savasu Gir XIII, 8, Kāl. V, 16,
Dhau. V, 6, Tōp. VII, 26; Sār.
10
savra Mān VI, 27, 29.
savram Shāh VI, 14, VII, 3, X, 22;
Mān. VI, 27, VII, 33, X, 10, 11
savratra Shāh II, 3, 4, Mān. II, 6,
7, 8, III, 9, V, 25, VI, 27, 28,
29, VII, 32, XIII, 11.
savra-pashada Mān VII, 32, XII, 6
savra-pashadana Mān. XII, 2, 7
savra-pashadām Mān XII, 1
sava-pa[śa]j[al]eshā(shu) Mān V,
21
savra-prashamda Shāh VII, 1 f,
XII, 7
savra-prashamdanam Shāh XII, 2
savra-prashamdani Shāh. XII, 1.
[sa]vra-prashamda[ni] Shāh V, 12.
[sa]vra-prashamda[ni] Shāh XII, 8
[sa]vra-prashamda[ni] Shāh XIII, 8
savra-manu[sa]nam Shāh XIII, 6,
Mān XIII, 6.
[sa]vra-loka-hitaye Mān. VI, 31 f.
savra-loka-hi[ti]e Mān. VI, 30.
savra-loka-hitena Mān. VI, 30
savre Shāh XII, 5; Mān. VII, 32,
XII, 5.
savreshu Shāh V, 13, Mān. V, 24,
XIII, 9.
sāśāyike Shāh IX, 20.
-sāśāyike (read -sāśāyike) Shāh XIV 13
-sāśāyike (read -sāśāyike) Shāh I 1
-sāśāyike Tōp V, 5
-sāśāyike Gir. XI, 2, 3
-sāśāyike Shāh. IX, 19
sastatam Dhau Sep I, 20; Jau
Sep. I, 10
-sāśāyike Shāh XIII, 4, 5.
-sāśāyike Shāh I, 2
-sāśāyike Kāl. I, 3, Jau. I, 3
-sāśāyike Jau Sep. I, 2; Tōp. IV,
3, VII, 22.
-sāśāyike Dhau Sep. I, 4
-sāśāyike Gir XIII, 1; Shāh. XIII,
1.
-sāśāyike Mān I, 4
sāśāyike-bhagam Shāh. XIII, 7.
sāśāyike-bhage Mān. XIII, 7.

- sahasrāṇi Gir I, 9
 -sahajare Shāh XIII, 1
 -sahāya Gir XIII, 3, 4
 sahāya(ye)na Gir IX, 8
 sahāya(ye)na Dhau IX, 6
 -s Gir XIII, 10, Kāl XIII, 13, 14
 Sāyāputo Kāl II, 4
 sāy[ā]p[ā]k[ā]nī (read sāyurānī)
 Rūp 1
 sātreke Mas 2, Bīah 2, Sudd 6,
 Jat 4
 sātreke Rūp 1
 sādhū(dhū) Gir IX, 8
 sādhavām Tōp VII, 28
 -sādhav[ā]k Tōp VII, 28
 sādhū[kā] Sah. 2
 sādhū Gir III, 4, 5, IV, 11, IX, 4,
 5, 6, 7, XI, 2, 3, XII, 6, Kāl
 III, 7, 8, 12, IX, 26, Dhau
 III, 2, 3, jau III, 3, IX, 4,
 Ar II, 1
 sādhū-matā Gir I, 6, Kāl I, 2,
 Dhau I, 2, jau I, 2
 sādhū Dhau IV, 7, IX, 5, jau
 IX, 6, Iōp II, 11
 sāmantā Kāl II, 5, Dhau II, 2,
 jau II, 2
 sāmp[ā]j[ā]nī Gir II, 1
 sara-varhī Gir XII, 2, 8
 sa(s)la-th[ā]hī Rūp 5
 sāhka Ar V, 2
 sāhka Tōp V, 3
 -sāvakam Kāl VI, 18, Dhau VI,
 1, jau VI, 3
 -sivane Brah 5, 8, Sudd 11, 15,
 Jat 12
 -sivānāmī Tōp VII, 20, 22
 -sivane Rūp 3, 5
 -sivā[va]n[ā] Tōp VII, 23
 -sivā(vā)ne Sah. 4
 -sivāpāyāmī Tōp VII, 20
 -sivāpātāmī Tōp VII, 22
 -sivāpate Brah 5, 8
 -sivāte Sudd 11
 -sivānam Sār 8, 9
 -sivane Sār 5
 -sivānam jau Sep II, 14
 -sivne Mān XIII, 5
 -sivale Tōp V, 5
 -siva Shāh IX, 20, XII 2, 3, XIV
 14, Mān IX, VII, 2, 3, 7,
 XIV, 14, jau Sep I, 6, Tōp
 IV, 15
 -sivātī Shāh X, 22, XII, 8, Mān
 X, 11
 -sivāya Shāh XII, 7
 -siva Kāl IX, 26, Dhau S F I, 12,
 21, II, 4, jau Sep II, 4, Tōp
 VII, 32, Mīr IV, 8, Sām 8,
 Rūp 4
 -sivāsā Kāl IV, 12
 -sivā Rum 3
 -sivā-tha[m] jōhava Rūp. 5
 -sivā-tham[h]ā Sah 8
 -sivā-tham[h]ānī Tōp VII, 32
 -sivā-thabbe Rum 3
 -sivā-phalakāmī Tōp VII, 32
 -siv[ā]ho (read sun-aho) Shāh XIII, 5
 -sivā Gir IV, 9
 -sivāsā Gir IV, 10, Dhau IV, 7
 -sivām Kāl IV, 12, Dhau IV, 6
 -su Dhau Sep I, II, 4, jau Sep
 I, 2, II, 5
 -sujag[ā] Sah. 4
 -sukāta Mān V, 10
 -suk[ā]tam Kāl V, 24, Dhau V, 2,
 Tōp II, 16
 -sukātam Gir V, 3
 -sukaram Gu V, 3, Shāh V, 11
 -suj[ā]nta[m] Gu V, 11
 -suke Tōp V, 3
 -sukhām Tōp IV, 12, VI, 6
 -sukh[ā]n Iōp V, 5
 -sukhamveva Dhau Sep II, 5,
 jau Sep II, 6
 -sukhayāmī Shāh VI, 16, Mān
 VI, 11
 -sukhāyāmī Dhau VI, 6, jau VI, 6
 -sukhayū Tōp VII, 24
 -sukhāve Shāh V, 12, Mān V,
 22, 23
 -sukhāpāyāmī Gu VI, 12
 -[sukhā]j[ā]nī Gu V, 6
 -sukh[ā]n mayā Tōp VII, 24
 -sukhāyāmī Kāl VI, 20,
 -sukhāye Kāl V, 15, Dhau V 4,
 5, Sep II, 8, jau Sep II 12,
 Tōp IV, 12, VI, 3
 -sukhāhāro Gir colophon
 -sukhātūā (read samkhā) Kāl XIV
 191
 -sukhānā I Tōp I, 10
 -sukhāyāna Nand I, 6
 -sukhāyāna-dukhāyānam Tōp IV 6
 -sukhāyāmī All I, 4
 -[sukle] Tōp VI, 4
 -sukh[ā]nī Dhau Sep I, 5, II, 1,
 jau Sep I, 3, II, 11
 -suta Kāl XIII, 11, Tōp VII 21
 -suvāśāyē Tōp V, 10
 -suddī Kāl VI, 21, 22
 -suddham Gu VII, 2
 -suddhina Gir VII, 3
 -suddhi Dhau VII, 2, 1, jau VII 1
 -suv[ā]j[ā]nī Cāl 7
 -suv[ā]thay[ā]c[ā] Shāh I, 2
 -suv[ā]thay[ā]c[ā] Kāl I, 1
 -suv[ā]th[ā]y[ā] Mān I, 4
 -suvāśāve Mān V, 21
 -suvād dāye Kāl V, 14, Dhau V 1,
 jau V, 3
 -suv[ā]j[ā]y[ā] Bar III, 4
 -suvāstic Cāl 3
 -suvni Rūp 1, Sār 1, Mas 2, 3
 -suvne Kāl V, 16
 -suvhike Tōp VII, 31
 -suvāmāyūte Brah 1, Sudd 1
 -suvāmānā] Kāl IX, 25, Dhau
 IX, 5, jau IX, 4
 -suvāt jāu Sep I, 4
 -suvhātāmī Shāh XIII, 5, Mān
 XIII, 5
 -suv[ā]h[ā] Dhau Sep I, 8
 -suvē Tōp I, 6
 -suvā(suvā) Shāh X, 21
 -suvrūsha Shāh III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 21,
 XIII, 4, Mān III, 10, IV, 15,
 XI, 12, XII, 4
 -suvrūsha Shāh XIII, 4, Mān X,
 9, XIII, 4
 -suvrūshatū Shāh X, 21, Mān X,
 9

srāvāpakam Gir VI, 6.
 srūnāru Gir. XII, 7
 sruṭi Gir XII, 7
 [s]retham Shāh IV, 10
 srethe Mān IV, 17.
 [sva]m Jāt 15
 [sva]gā-lādhī Jau Sep 1, 8
 svagān Gir VI, 12, IX, 9; Kāl
 VI, 20, Dhau VI, 6, Sep 1, 16,
 II, 9, Jau VI, 6, Sep 1, 9, II,
 13
 svagasa Dhau IX, 7, Sep 1, 15
 svagradhī Gir IX, 9.
 svage Jau IX, 6, Rūp 3, Brah
 5, Sidd 10
 svam Gir VI, 6
 svatathī (read svatam) Dhau
 Sep II, 9
 svamuka Gir IX, 6
 -sveto Gir colophon

II

hami hi Kāl IX, 26, Shāh IX,
 20
 hamāmī[ī] Shāh I, 3
 [ha]mā yasu Shāh XIII, 8
 hamatvām Tōp. V 15
 [ha]matvāmī Mīr V, 8
 hamis Tōp V, 3
 hakam Kāl VI, 18, 20, Dhau VI,
 2, 7, Sep 1, 2, 5, 6, 21, II, 1, 3,
 6, 8, Jau VI, 5, Sep 1, 1, II, 1,
 8, 11, Tōp III, 21, Rūp 1,
 Bur 2, Calc 4, Brah. 2, Sidd
 5, Jāt 3
 hachē Mān IX, 7, 8
 haam Gir XIII, 1
 hate Kāl XIII, 35, 39, Shāh XIII,
 1, Mān XIII, 7
 [ha]to Shāh XIII, 6
 [ha]thm Kāl IV, 10
 haidm Dhau IV, 2
 ha(h)lha Rūp. 4
 hapasā Mān V 20
 hapasā Shāh V, 11
 hāpā Cak 2
 hamāyē Cak 3
 harapna Shāh II, 5, Mān II, 7, 8.
 hasti Gir. colophon
 hasti-dā[va]nā Gir IV, 3
 hahat Shāh V, 11, XI, 23
 hā(ho) Gir. XIII, 4
 -hāpasyu Dhau Sep 1, 25
 hapasyatu Kāl V, 14, Dhau. V, 2
 hāpasati Gir V, 3
 hā āpām Gir II, 6, 7
 hāpā Kāl II, 6, Dhau II, 3,
 Iu II, 4.
 hi *passim*
 -hitam Gir VI 9, Shāh. VI, 15
 -hitatpā Gir VI, 11
 -hitayē Shāh VI, 16, Mān VI, 32.
 hita-sukham Tōp. IV, 5
 [hita]-sukhaye Shāh V, 12.
 hita-sukhāye Dhau V, 4, 5, Sep.
 II, 8, Jau Sep II, 12, Tōp IV,
 12, VI, 3.
 hita-[sukhe] Tōp VI, 4
 hita-sukhena Dhau Sep 1, 5, II, 3,
 Jau Sep 1, 3, II, 3 f

-hitāya Gir VI, 14.
 -hitāye Kāl VI, 20, Dhau. VI, 7,
 Jau VI, 7
 -hite Kāl VI, 19, Mān. VI, 30;
 Dhau VI, 4, Jau VI, 5
 -hitena Shāh VI, 16; Mān VI, 30.
 Dhau VI, 5, Jan. VI, 5.
 -hitena Kāl VI, 20
 hida Kāl VI, 20, IX, 26, 27, Shāh
 I, 1, IV, 10, XIII, 9, Mān. I, 1,
 V, 24, IX, 7, 8, XIII, 9, 10,
 Dhau V, 6, VI, 6, Sep 1, 19,
 II, 9, Jau I, 1, VI, 6, Sep II,
 14, Tōp VII, 27, Rum. 2, 4
 hidatam Tōp IV, 7.
 hidata-pālate Tōp I, 3, VII, 31
 hidatikāye Tōp III, 22
 hidaloka Dhau. Sep II, 6.
 hidalohika Kāl XIII, 18, Shāh
 XIII, 12
 hidalohika-pālalokikāye Dhau Sep.
 II, 3, 9
 hidalo[lika]-pālalokik[na] Dhau.
 Sep. I, 6 f
 hidalohike Kāl IX, 26; Mān IX,
 7.
 hidalokiko Shāh. XIII, 12.
 hidalokika Kāl XIII, 17
 hidalokikāye Kāl XI, 30
 hidaloke Mān XI, 14, XIII, 13
 hidalog[am] Jau Sep II, 7
 hidalog[ika] - p[ā]l[al]o[k]i[k]jāyē
 Jau Sep II, 12 f
 hidalogika - pālalokik[na] Jau
 Sep II, 4
 hida-sukhāye Shāh V, 12, Mān
 V, 22, 23
 hida-sukhāye Kāl V, 15
 hida Kāl I, 1, V, 10, VIII, 22, IX,
 26, XIII, 9
 him Kāl IV, 13, Shāh IV, 10;
 Mān IV, 18
 -him Kāl IV, 12; Shāh IV, 10,
 Mān IV, 17
 hirunn-patvīdhāno Gir VIII, 4
 hirunn-patvīdhāne Sōp VIII, 7
 [hi]ra[ra]nā - patvīdhane Mān
 VIII, 35
 hirahā-p[ā]t[iv]dhane Shāh. VIII,
 17
 hūlamna-patvīdhāne Kāl VIII, 23.
 Dhau VIII, 3, Jau VIII, 3
 him Gir IV, 11, Dhau IV, 7,
 Jau IV, 8
 -him Dhau IV, 7
 -him Gir IV, 11
 hirm Brah 4
 huta-pulva Kāl V, 14.
 huta-pulve Kāl IV, 10, VI, 17.
 huta-pruve Mān IV, 14, VI, 27.
 hutā Tōp VII, 15, 20
 huvarthi Dhau. VIII, 1, Jau VIII,
 1
 huvāu Sār 6
 [h]uvāyā Dhau. X, 3, Jau X, 2
 huveyu Kāl XII, 34; Mān XII, 7.
 huvevu Dhau. Sep 1, 12
 huvevū Dhau. Sep II, 5
 husam Brah. 2; Sidd 5.

husu Kāl VIII, 22; Mān VIII,
 34, Tōp VII, 12; Rūp 2, Mas.
 4
 hūta-pulvā Dhau. V, 3
 hūta-pulve Dhau. IV, 3, VI, 1,
 Jau. VI, 1.
 hemmeva All I, 4
 h[e]khuhe Kāl XI, 29
 hedisān(nu) Kāl VIII, 22
 hedisē Kāl IX, 25
 heta Kāl IX, 24, X, 28, Dhau. V,
 2, XIV, 3; Jau XIV, 2, Sōp.
 VIII, 6.
 hetā Kāl V, 14, VIII, 23, IX, 25,
 XIV, 21, All. Qu 2, Sāh 8
 hetute Mān III, 21, Dhau. III, 3,
 Jau III, 4
 hetuto Gir III, 6, Shāh III, 7.
 hetuvātā Kāl III, 8.
 hedisameva Dhau Sep 1, 24, Sār
 7
 hedisā Sār 6
 hedisāye Dhau IX, 2, Jau IX, 2.
 hedisē Dhau IX, 3, Jau IX, 3.
 hemeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24, Jau
 Sep 1, 3, Tōp. VII, 25, Ar. I,
 5, VI, 4, Sār 10, Brah. 9, 10,
 Sidd 18, 19, Jāt 12, 13, 16, 19
 hemevā Tōp I, 8, VI 6
 hema Kāl XI, 12, Ram I, 1
 hūvam Kāl III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI,
 20, XII, 33, Dhau III, 1, 2, V,
 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep 1, 14,
 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, Jau III,
 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep 1, 1, 6, 7, II, 1,
 5, 6, 9, 10 f, 13, 16, 19, IV, 1,
 II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1,
 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII,
 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26,
 28, 29, 31, All Qu 4, Sār 5,
 6, Rūp 1, Sāh. 1, Calc 3,
 Mas. 5, 7, 8, Brah. 1, 8, 12,
 Sidd 3, Jāt 15, 20, 21
 hevannmeva Dhau. Sep 1, 13, Jau.
 Sep II, 4, All VI, 2
 hevammēvā Calc 8
 hevammēvā Kāl XIII, 8
 hou Gir VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9,
 XIII, 10, Kāl IV, 12, VI, 19,
 VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35,
 XIII, 17, 38, 13, Shāh. VIII,
 17, Mān IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII,
 35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8,
 11, Dhau IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2,
 3, Sep 1, 8, Jau IV, 7, VI, 3,
 VIII, 2, 3, Sep I, 4, 8, Sōp.
 VIII, 6, 9, Tōp IV, 11, VII,
 31, Sidd. 13
 hou Kāl V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18,
 Mān V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 13,
 Dhau V, 8, VI, 6; Jau VI, 6,
 Tōp VII, 31, Sāh 5
 hotā Tōp II, 16.
 hoamū Tōp. VII, 23
 hosau Dhau. Sep 1, 22.
 hoatā Calc. 4.
 hoam Dhau. Sep II, 8.
 hoamī Jau Sep II, 12
 hohamū Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27.
 hveyū Jau Sep 1, 6, II, 5.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyākṣta*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as 'g' in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904 364 f (Kielhorn), 1911. 1106 (Fleet), 1916 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the *Sahasrām* edict (Text, p. 171) as follows 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer)'. The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp 169 and 177 f) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vi. āśayātha* at Sarnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vr̥cāsatara[ya]* (read *vr̥cāsatariye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)', and *vi. āśayāthā* at Sarnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. For instruction read exhortation

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom Read as follows The two Sanskrit masculines *piāna* and *vyākṣa* are used as neuters *pānāu* (I, 3, 1) and [*lu*] *kṣāu* (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add According to the *Suttanipāṭa*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkaka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows

Page 12, Roman text, line 12 For ta² (M) etaya read (M) ta ctāya

„ „ Cancel note 2

„ 13, section (M). For. For the following purpose read Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. For XIII, I read XIII, I 4

„ 56, note 21. For the Rashtrikas see the Introduction, p xxxviii, line 2 from bottom

„ 69, section (M). For converts read exhorts

„ „ note 3 Add See also *Kā. yaprakāśa*, sec ed., p 57 महा इवति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pan IV, 1, 48, *Uṭṭika* 3

„ 73, Roman text, line 9 For duva[a]śa- read duva[da]śa-

„ 95, line 3 For (thus) read (this).

„ 96, section (N) For arise to you read arise in you

„ „ „ (T). For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). For edict read rescript

„ „ „ (CC), line 3 For thus, as read just as

„ 99, Translation, section (A) For (thus) read (this)

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2 For thus read so.

„ 100, section (I). For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgarī text, line 4 *For* सुवृषाणा *read* सुवृषाणा.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3 *For* kūkapāda *read* kakapada.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN) *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukaṭarṇ *read* sukaṭarṇ.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* सुक *read* सुक.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5 *For* sukaṭarṇ *read* sukaṭarṇ.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]ti *read* . . . [ki]ti.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tim.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [ā]as[y]e[na] *read* [ā]a[s]y[e]na]

